Faithful Bodies

PERFORMING RELIGION AND RACE IN THE PURITAN ATLANTIC

HEATHER MIYANO KOPELSON

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HEATHER MIYANO KOPELSON

New York University Press
NEW YORK AND LONDON

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS
New York and London
www.nyupress.org

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA
Kopelson, Heather Miyano.
Faithful bodies : performing religion and race in the Puritan Atlantic / Heather Miyano Kopelson.
pages cm — (Early American places)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4798-0500-6 (cloth : acid-free paper)
1. Massachusetts—Race relations—Religious aspects—History—17th century. 2. Rhode Island—Race relations—Religious aspects—History—17th century. 3. Bermuda Islands—Race relations—Religious aspects—History—17th century. 4. Great Britain—Colonies—America—History—17th century. 5. Puritans—America—History—17th century. 6. Protestantism—Social aspects—America—History—History—17th century. 7. Ethnicity—America—Religious aspects—History—17th century. 8. Massachusetts—History—Colonial period, ca. 1600–1775. 9. Rhode Island—History—Colonial period, ca. 1600–1775. 10. Bermuda Islands—History—17th century. I. Title.
F75.A1K67 2014
305.800974—dc23
2013049744

References to Internet Web sites (URLs) were accurate at the time of writing. Neither the author nor New York University Press is responsible for URLs that may have expired or changed since the manuscript was prepared.

New York University Press books are printed on acid-free paper, and their binding materials are chosen for strength and durability. We strive to use environmentally responsible suppliers and materials to the greatest extent possible in publishing our books.

Manufactured in the United States of America
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Also available as an ebook

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Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to have the opportunity to thank all of those who have helped me over the years of researching and writing this book. Several institutions provided key financial support: the University of Iowa Graduate College and Department of History, the John Nicholas Brown Center, the Huntington Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Regional Fellowship Consortium, the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, the Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at Brown University, and the Research Grants Committee at the University of Alabama (UA). The chair of the UA history department, Kari Frederickson, helped secure funding for image permissions.

Archivists and staff made research not only possible but much easier and more pleasant at the Bermuda National Archives, the Boston Athenæum, Connecticut Historical Society, Friends' House Library, Historic Deerfield, Huntington Library, John Carter Brown Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Newberry Library, Newport Historical Society, Public Record Office of the National Archives of the United Kingdom, and Rhode Island Historical Society. At the UA Libraries, I would especially like to thank Brett Spencer and Pat Causey.

I would also like to offer a most heartfelt thank you to those who extended their hospitality during my peripatetic research wanderings following an Atlantic topic: John Aler, Andrew and Rosie Doughty, Matt Garcia, Rebecca Goetz, Evan Haefeli, Marie Martineau, Julia

Kopelson, Kevin Kopelson, Margie and Peter Lloyd, Maria Mendez, Walter Woodward, and Irene Woodward. Thanks to John Adams and Andrew Trimingham, Charlotte Andrews, John Cox, Karla Hayward, Clarence Maxwell, William S. Zuill, and Rebecca Zuill, Bermuda quickly felt like a second home. I am grateful for my compatriots who helped me survive the rigors of graduate school, especially the members of United Electrical Local 896–COGS and the feminist theory reading group.

I am deeply appreciative of the assistance and guidance of my mentors Mark Peterson and Linda K. Kerber. The comments and suggestions of audiences at a multitude of conferences and seminars have improved many parts of this book. I would particularly like to thank participants of seminars at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Columbia University, the McNeil Center, Virginia Tech, Ohio State University, and Rice University; as well as the Harvard early American working group, with a special thanks to Laurel Thatcher Ulrich for inviting me to participate. An earlier version of chapter 1 appeared in *Early American Studies*, while portions of chapters 9, 10, and 11 appeared in the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

Friends and colleagues not already mentioned who have commented on chapters, offered encouragement, or assisted in nonacademic ways include: the 2006–2007 MCEAS Fellows, Margaret Abruzzo, Douglas Baynton, Kristen Block, Vincent Brown, T. Dwight Bozeman, Joyce Chaplin, Christian Crouch, Jennifer Davis, Yvonne Fabella, Linford Fisher, Christina Frantom, Charles Foy, Travis Glasson, Robert E. Harvey, Dennis Hidalgo, Michael Jarvis, Catherine Kelly, Karen Kupperman, Jill Lepore, Annie Liss, Ann Little, Alice Nash, Paul Mapp, Brendan McConville, Jennifer Morgan, Margaret Newell, Katherine Paugh, Yvonne Pitts, Ann Marie Plane, Jennifer Purvis, Dana Quartana, Daniel Richter, Sharon Romeo, Todd Romero, Phillip Round, Jenny Shaw, and Lee Spilberg. At NYU Press, Deborah Gershenowitz was everything an author of a first book could hope for in an editor. Debbie moved to a different press before this book was through publication, and so I also have the pleasure of thanking another wonderful editor, Clara Platter. Constance Grady kept everything running on an even keel. An anonymous reader and Ann Little offered insightful comments and questions that guided me in strengthening the book in fundamental ways, and Ann even read the manuscript a second time.

My family has provided innumerable kinds of support and lots of love. My parents, Robert and Reiko Kopelson, and my sister, Julia Kopelson,

have helped in ways grammatical, global, retail, and artistic. The child-care assistance given by Brittany and Emily Innis made possible the timely completion of an earlier incarnation of this book. The dedicated, highly skilled teachers at the Capitol School have helped Teo explore and understand the world, while Jessie Tuggle has been a second mother to Alessandra, gifts for which I am incredibly thankful. And to my partner, Michael Innis-Jiménez: thank you for sharing in the navigation of our life together.

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Faithful Bodies

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Introduction

To the casual observer, the crystals appear to be inert lumps of quartz, roughly shaped. But to the seventeenth-century individuals who placed them in the corners of their new building at Magunkaquog in the heart of their homeland, they were hope and insurance for the future, connection to the past, and an active shaping of their present. The crystals not only expressed the intent to continue The People's place in the land that was theirs, to sink deep into the earth in the face of all the changes that followed on the heels of the Coat-men who had invaded it—often clumsily yet so destructively—they were one means by which to accomplish that goal. By the time The People buried the crystals beneath where they would gather to join in words and song in ways their ancestors had not known, they knew the Coat-men called themselves English and that their new way to reach other-than-human persons was called being a Christian. They had come to live in this place to be with their kin and others who had lost much so that together they could practice the new forms of interaction with the unseen members of their community. When Daniel Gookin, the puritan missionary and superintendent of Indian affairs for the colony of Massachusetts, came to encourage them in 1674, they gave the entire building over to his use during his visit. He prayed with them, briefly joining with them as one of their number. But most English living in what they called New England did not think that it was possible for Indians and English to be members of a congregation. Increasingly after the violence of the conflict the English came to call King Philip's War (after the Pokanoket

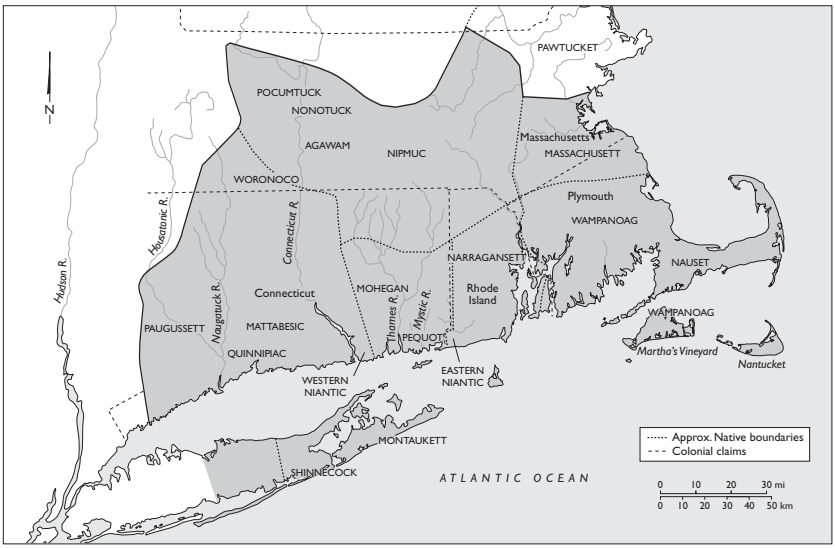

Figure I.1. Native territories and English colonial claims in southern New England, ca. 1665.

sachem who had tried to orchestrate alliances across long-standing tribal enmities), it seemed to English puritans that Natives could not be Christian, that something inherent made it impossible for them to incorporate into a body of Christ. Had Gookin known about the crystals beneath the floor as he led the community in prayer and exhorted them to strive to live a godly life, he might have doubted his firm conviction that they were Christian. The People did not; they knew that they were. And they continued to be, even after fifteen Natick Indians, inhabitants of another praying town, sold Magunkaquog lands to Harvard College.[1]

Half an ocean away, Hannah Manena McKenney contemplated her future and the future of her family. Her husband, Anthony, had just bought her freedom as soon as he had finished his own indenture. They could try to stay in Bermuda as free people of color, to ensure that their children stayed out of entangling indentures. There were certainly some who did, deciding to take the risk that no one would try to make an issue of their freedom with the local justice, rather than to start over in a new place, far away from family and friends, that also held no guarantee of respect for their free status. Hannah did not relish that prospect. Although moving would mean leaving her parents and grandparents, it might also mean the chance to live in a community with fewer legal

obstacles. And Anthony had heard that there were other families like them, who looked like them, with whom they might worship without being confined to an area far from the pulpit.[2]

In many ways, the Nipmucs who lived at Magunkaquog and built the meetinghouse for the settlement and Hannah and Anthony McKenney lived very different lives, but in certain key ways the challenges they confronted were part of the same context. The Nipmucs were in the territory that their people had held since time out of mind, while the McKenneys were only two or three generations removed from Europe and Africa. The McKenneys grew up fully enmeshed in an intimate system of racialized slavery in which only Bermudian Bermudians were free in any significant numbers. But for Natives who had to confront the competing spaces of colonial New England, the line of unfreedom was not so stark. Algonquian tribes were very much present and active, but individual Natives could not always remain free of debt indentures because of increasing colonial encroachment and attacks on their lands, goods (including livestock), and persons.

These variations were part of many larger contexts that scholars have so fruitfully researched and continue to investigate: the long-standing innovation and incorporation of outsiders (of whom Europeans were only the most recent) by the multitude of indigenous peoples of the Americas; the consolidation of power within many tribes in northeastern portions of North America; the growth of the transatlantic slave trade and forced African immigration to the Americas driven by European demand for labor; the increasing immigration of Europeans who by their very presence invaded Native land. More recently, another context to which scholars have turned their attention is the interaction of race and religion in ideas about and practices of human difference in various parts of the early modern Atlantic world. In taking the religions of all seventeenth-century inhabitants seriously, this scholarship has added to our understanding of how Native, African, and European peoples comprehended and accessed their worlds of the unseen.[3]

They have focused not on the parched and parsed distinctions of authoritative dogma but the practices and performances of lived religion, of physical movements and textual presence. Those repeated practices connected the one to the many, sustaining multiple topographies that outlined overlapping cultural places in a single space.[4] The emphasis on practice has revealed the centrality of the body and bodies in colonial interactions. Embodied experience provided a common origin point for human interpretation of the world, with specific

Figure I.2. The puritan Atlantic in the long seventeenth century.

SCOTLAND
IRELAND
WALES
ENGLAND
UNITED PROVINCES OF
THE NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Canary Is.
Cape Verde
Gorée
GAMBIA
Accra
Ouidah
Benin
Elmina
Bight
of Benin
Bight of
Biafra
Loango
Loango Bay
Kongo
São Salvador/Mbanza Kongo
Matamba
Luanda
Ndongo (Angola)

explanations varying over time and among cultures. The four planes of the human body (front, back, and two sides) and the movement of the sun meant that many peoples have divided the world into four directions, although they varied in which one they designated as the principal direction. Although all humans comprehend the world through their physical bodies to create a common point of reference, the entire context for giving meaning to that reference, to those physical sensations, the naming of what an individual perceived and felt, was culturally dependent as well as being infinitely variable to each individual in a particular moment.[5]

This book is thus part of a growing scholarly conversation about the intersections of race, gender, religion, and the body in the Atlantic world. It also takes up the question of appropriate forms of narrative in interpreting the past, and of the fictions and violence that the archive visits on the lives of those millions whose names have been allowed to evaporate along with the breath that once spoke them. More concerned with an underlying ethos and the fluidity of religious practice than with specific and self-articulated connections between dissenting Protestants, this book's framework of strongly puritan-influenced colonies takes a path that cuts across the topical boundaries that have often cordoned off subfields of the history of the early modern Atlantic: history of slavery and the slave trade, puritan studies, history and archaeology of northeastern Natives and of indigenous Caribbean peoples, and history of sexuality and the body.[6]

By peeling back the layers of conflicting definitions of bodies and competing practices of faith in the puritan Atlantic over a key period in the ideological attachment of inherited characteristics to particular skin tones, *Faithful Bodies* identifies local variations of that larger arc leading to the conflation of *Christian* and *white* and the concomitant overlap of *Negro* or *Indian* and *heathen*. Colonists' perceptions of and interactions with indigenous peoples of the Americas and with West Central Africans shaped their definitions of ordered and disordered bodies to create local variations on transatlantic conversations about how to understand human difference and define its acceptable boundaries.[7] While Virginian colonists developed a notion of Indians and Africans as no longer "potential Christians" who might eventually blend with English colonial society but rather as innately incompatible "hereditary heathens," the debate unfolded rather differently in Bermuda and New England.[8]

English puritans in New England lagged behind Anglo-Virginians in conflating religion with skin color and defining Indians and Africans as categorically ineligible for membership in the body of Christ, while those in Bermuda created strong associations between freedom status and skin color but did not generally turn to Christianity as a differentiating factor. Although relative newcomers sometimes complained that slave owners in Bermuda did not make enough of an effort to convert the people they enslaved, generations of white Bermudians who had grown up alongside generations of Bermudians of color may simply have not seen the need to evangelize a group they considered to be within the Christian community. Many Bermudians of color claimed Christianity as their own even as they practiced and passed on some aspects of their generationally more distant ancestors' religions. In New England, concentrated communities of Native Christians visibly contested the English circumscribing of "body of Christ" to fit along the lineaments of an English body. Most colonists after King Philip's War (1675–76) did make the additional step of denying that those gathered communities were truly Christian, but some of the disdainful terminology in Virginia's records—*pagan*, *infidel*, discussions of defilement from English bodily contact with Indians or Africans—was less present in New England's records.

Bodies

A focus on embodiment and bodies enables a cross-confessional and cross-cultural exploration of seventeenth-century worldviews. The body of Christ is a central metaphor and entity that organizes Christian belief and practice. For Christians generally, Jesus Christ, the son of God, was and is simultaneously fully divine and fully human. Christ's body as a historical human body was significant because it meant that he was fully human and truly suffered pain and death for the sins of all humanity. The body of Christ has also referred to the church, so that Christians are members of one body, the church. This metaphor of the body has carried multiple meanings at different historical moments because of its importance in Christian cosmology. Not only have people interpreted the body of Christ in various ways at different times and places, but they have had conflicting interpretations in the same time and place. The process of discerning these meanings is complex and does not end in neatly packaged answers, as the meanings themselves are often ambiguous. However, following these crisscrossing branches—much like following the path

of neurons in the brain—can lead to unexpected synapses, moments of connection between seemingly disparate elements. A more apt analogy for the seventeenth century is one concerning veins and the circulation of blood; following all the interpretations of the body of Christ moves us through all aspects of religious culture in the English Atlantic, a motion that itself is vital to the functioning of the whole body.

Interpretations of the body of Christ among religious thinkers in seventeenth-century Europe and the puritan Atlantic reveal how people thought about community in a way that intrinsically involved religion as well as cultural readings of the body. As explained by Lewis Bayly, author of the widely used and reprinted spiritual manual *The Practice of Pietie*, "[A]ll the Faithful, though they be *many* yet are they but *one mystical Body, under one Head*, which is Christ." One of the wondrous qualities of that body was that it could stretch across time and space and alter believers' perceptions of both. Bayly wrote, "This *Union* betwixt the Faithful is so ample, that no Distance of Place can part; so *strong*, that Death cannot dissolve it; so durable, that time cannot wear it out; so effectual, that it breeds a fervent Love betwixt those who never saw one another's Face."[9] It was a conceptual space that could be infinitely expansive or intimately focused on the inner workings of an individual soul. And yet, the idea was not malleable ad infinitum, because individuals' physical and bodily understanding constrained their comprehension of how the body of Christ organized itself.

Sectarian allegiances shared a common trait with developing ideas about racial or ethnic difference in that both provided ways for people to define who belonged in their community and who had to be kept outside it. Separate strains of Christianity held differing ideals about what the ideal community should look like, how it should work, and who should be in it. The notion that it was possible to separate groups of people based on particular external dissimilarities that signaled intrinsic incompatibility led to the idea that only people in the same group could form a strong community. These two methods for dividing the world into those like and those unlike oneself did not exist independently. Understanding how the body of Christ structured English communities highlights the points at which sectarian and racial differences categorized people similarly, and the points at which those definitions diverged and ceased to overlap. Contestations over faithful bodies were central to the early modern Atlantic world, which was made through the growth of the transatlantic slave trade and chattel race slavery; the increased contact between indigenous peoples of the Americas, Europeans, and Africans

and their dissimilar gender systems; changing conceptions of authority and dependence; and conflict over religious differences.

The body of Christ metaphor demonstrates the centrality of religion in how seventeenth-century Christians saw and experienced their world and communities. This specific bodily metaphor affected the social organization of religious life for the people (mostly Europeans) who brought the idea into the complex new Atlantic communities of the English colonies. Ideas around the body of Christ existed in a world in which many kinds of bodies held power and the control of bodily intimacy was an essential part of social and familial hierarchies.[10] Different concepts of the body influenced and reflected other understandings of religion. In southern New England tribes that were part of the Algonquian cultural group, religious specialists called *powwows* and war leaders called *pniesok* both garnered their mandate to lead from demonstrations of the ritual expertise needed to navigate a world populated by numerous other-than-human persons. Communication with those powerful beings who shaped life in many ways, an action required for the health of the community body, often required leaving the bounds of the physical body. West Central and West African peoples maintained networks between the dead and the living through power objects that allowed spiritual forces to take up temporary habitation in chosen individuals. Access to power structures depended on showing one's connection to other-than-human persons, the numinous entities whom older scholarship has often termed "supernatural" beings.[11]

Studying religion in this fashion emphasizes relationships between and among individuals, communities, and the divine, and thus supports a parallel comparison between religions with and without extensive written theologies. The English were not the only ones in the colonies who had a sense of order inspired by belief in divine power. Africans who had been enslaved and forcibly transported across the Atlantic and by way of the Caribbean came from societies with beliefs about how humans ought to interact with one another and with the divine. Indigenous peoples had different religiously shaped visions of how social relationships should be organized, which affected how they responded to invasions of their homelands. Asking similar questions about Europeans, Africans, and indigenous peoples of the Americas makes it easier to catch the swirling currents of belief and practice among groups of people, and to see how their respective maps overlay each other.

Confessional Spatiality

The puritan Atlantic helps push our understandings of the interplay between the physical and mental worlds of Atlantic actors, between intense local knowledge and a strongly crafted perception of confessional spatiality. Seventeenth-century English Protestants understood their religious communities through the metaphor of the body of Christ, so that both visible congregations of the faithful and the invisible community of the saved throughout the world were part of a body of which Christ was the head. They described churches and groups of individuals as specific members of that body: limbs, sinew, or blood. Communities in far-flung locales considered each other to be members of the same body. This body of Christ was linked to, but not the same as, the body politic. The points of overlap and disjuncture between these two bodies reveal the contours of how people determined the boundary between themselves and others, between insider and outsider. Although generally perceived to be rigid and restrictive, the puritan body of Christ proved more permeable to racial differences than the body politic because of the emphasis on voluntary membership. Relative distances did not always match the geography of the physical world in the cognitive space of the puritan Atlantic. The conceptual space of the body of Christ changed the mental maps of those who inhabited it, even as the inhabitants' actions created that space and changed the relationships between themselves and others. It was a way of organizing society on the local level and simultaneously a means of understanding the vast physical space of the Atlantic.

In addition to Rhode Island and Bermuda, several colonies and locales outside the New England colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut were part of the puritan Atlantic, an idea that does not depend as heavily on self-identification as does the "Protestant International," a confessional network that understood itself to be fighting against a worldwide Catholic threat.[12] The distinctive culture influenced by "hot" Protestants existed to at least some degree in Providence Island, the Bahamas, Antigua, Barbados, and parts of the Chesapeake, Long Island, and New Jersey. That shared culture changed dissenting Protestants' perception of space by creating intimate links between physically far-flung places, and by making geographical neighbors into strangers. These locations have separately received scholarly attention, but considering them together as part of a shared confessional spatiality allows for more attention to the fluctuations of dissenting English culture in the Atlantic world more broadly.[13] Although this book is not

a survey of all possible locations in the puritan Atlantic, it takes the first steps to consider how spatial connection linked a few key places.

As the puritan English in southern New England and Bermuda tried to create new societies, they brought a particular kind of order to their communities—godly order was meant to be paramount. While Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Bermuda differed from each other in significant ways, they more closely resembled each other in key aspects than they did other English colonies. As a group of dissenting colonies colonized by the "hotter" sorts of Protestants seeking reform beyond that instituted by the Church of England, they were definably separate from the British plantation colonies, whether southern mainland or Caribbean, as well as the mid-Atlantic colonies. These (loosely defined) puritans influenced social structures and cultural order in all three colonies, but did not control social institutions in all three places in equal measure.[14] While these separate colonies shared a dissenting ethos, each location had a particular trajectory. For instance, puritans and Baptists visited and even preached to each other's congregations in London during the seventeenth century, including John Bunyan, author of the allegory for Christian conversion *The Pilgrim's Progress*. At the same time in Massachusetts Bay, ruling puritans persecuted Baptists as religious outlaws for their insistence on adult baptism.[15] Without an established church in Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Baptists there did not face the same persecution and exclusion from town government. But they did have to contend with internal schisms.[16] Conflicts over the appropriate life stage for baptism do not appear in Bermuda's records. The public conversion narrative required in most of New England's puritan churches relating an individual's spiritual and physical struggles to discern the working of God's grace upon and in them was not a common practice in English congregations, although those who had stayed in England considered themselves to be every bit as committed to purifying the Church of England, if not more so.[17] A capacious definition of puritan religiosity that includes a wide spectrum of behavior encompasses such regional variations.

The puritan Atlantic becomes a less useful organizing concept after England tightened its control of its American colonies and brought them into closer order. By 1723, the law and social practice were increasingly codifying hierarchies of race and servitude, and New England merchants had sharply increased their participation in carrying the human cargo of the slave trade. New England was economically dependent on the slave trade long before New England ship captains carried enslaved Africans in

large numbers. After the English Civil War cut off the flood of migrants to New England in the 1640s—and with them their money and support of the local staples market—a large portion of New England's economy rested on the demand of British slave colonies in the Caribbean for those staples.[18] Bermuda's turn to maritime activity and shipbuilding, which began after the dissolution of the governing Somers Islands Company in 1684, was fully established by 1720, a shift whose success depended on the labor of enslaved Bermudians at sea and on shore.[19] In Rhode Island, planters in the Narragansett region turned to enslaved African labor even as they institutionalized their exploitation of Narragansetts' labor through hereditary pauperdom, in which children inherited the debt obligations and indentured servitude of their parents.[20] However, economic considerations were not the only cause of change. Relations among the colonies shifted as England tried to strengthen each colony's connection to the metropole, while changes within puritanism meant that ministers no longer dictated specific behaviors to be enforced or punished by magistrates.

England's closer attention to its empire also meant that legal structures in the colonies moved closer to common law practices, a shift that marked more uneven power relations between men and women. While the puritan vision of godly rules meted out harsh punishments to women who stepped outside the bounds of proper behavior, it also punished men for sexual and moral lapses and reduced their power over their wives, thus coming close to a single standard for sexual and moral conduct. Between 1690 and 1723, however, most puritan ministers' view of the proper relationship between godly order and civil authority shifted so that ministers were no longer directing the civil authorities about which behaviors to punish. Legal reforms of the 1690s, which brought common law and specifically trained lawyers more forcefully into colonial courts, also weakened the influence of a distinct ethos on governmental and legal structures.[21] These reforms were an outgrowth of Charles II's earlier push toward greater centralization, which, although it succeeded to varying extents from place to place, had been aimed at all the English colonies.[22]

Geographic Boundedness

The colonies included in this study shared a key spatial characteristic: all faced early and intense difficulties with their topographical and geographical boundedness. The ocean constrained the physical expansion of the mainland colonies along one border (east for Massachusetts, south

for Rhode Island), while other polities, Native and European, impeded them on the others. Massachusetts had to contend with Nipmucs, the Pocumtucks and other tribes in the Connecticut River Valley area, Massachusetts and Wampanoags along the coast, as well as Penacooks, Pequots, and Mahicans. To the north and east, Abenakis and Haudenosaunees (Iroquois), as well as the French, undercut the Bay colony's ambitions of geographical growth in what is now Maine and at times seemed to threaten its survival. Rhode Island faced Wampanoags in the northeastern part of the colony, Narragansetts and Niantics farther south, and the Pequot survivors of the 1637 Pequot War with the English, who joined Mohegan communities based primarily in Connecticut but whose territory also comprised the southwest corner of Rhode Island.[23] Rhode Island and Massachusetts could only encompass more territory in direct conflict with the charter claims of Connecticut, New York, and Plymouth.[24] The charter granted to Rhode Island and Providence Plantations by Charles II in 1663 overlapped with Connecticut's 1662 charter to the west and Plymouth's and Massachusetts's borders to the east.[25] The lands granted in these charters were often more imaginative exercises than an indication of what the English could actually control of Algonquian homelands, but they still gesture toward the multiple levels of contestation over place even within the English space of New England.

As an uninhabited archipelago, a mere twenty-one square miles of land that lies in the Atlantic 648 miles (563 nautical miles) from the nearest land (what is now Cape Hatteras on the coast of North Carolina), Bermuda differed from the mainland colonies.[26] A preexisting topography separated New England from Bermuda, which had no established human sense of place. All inhabitants of the island colony were newcomers who simultaneously established its conceptual and physical landscapes. The island-born constituted a majority of the inhabitants by the mid-seventeenth century, an unusual demographic situation that offered an earlier hospitable environment for combinations of indigenous, English, and African beliefs and practices than in other colonies where the constant influx of African-born people and established indigenous communities renewed knowledge about cultural and religious practices. Bermudians of color were mostly insiders rather than outsiders to Christianity, a familiarity that white Bermudians largely recognized because they had grown up alongside one another and lived together in the same households. A similar shift away from African-born individuals did not happen in British mainland North American colonies until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[27]

In New England, even when the puritan Atlantic was at its strongest, it was a thin overlay on top of what for time out of mind had been, and remained, fundamentally Native space. The English colonized and laid claim to land that its original inhabitants had already adapted for human habitation and shaped through ritual practice. Archaeological research has uncovered human-made stone mounds and caverns devoid of the detritus that accumulates from habitation but that were built over a long period of time, indicating repeated and extended human engagement with the sites for purposes besides daily living. These mounds and caverns were organized around landscape features marking astronomically significant events such as the winter and summer solstices and the rising and setting of the Pleiades, a cluster of stars. One such stone feature complex is near what later became the "praying Indian" town of Hassanamisco and appears to have been constructed around 1,300 years ago. It lies near the source of almost all the major rivers that flow into what is now Rhode Island and the eastern half of Massachusetts and remained under direct Native control until 1715.[28]

The northeastern coast was contested space, not only in terms of competition over land and other resources, but also in how Europeans and Natives thought of resources and how they defined what it meant to share space. Although southern Algonquians varied in particular burial rituals, preferred family forms, governmental structures, and dialects and languages, they shared an idea of the space of the Northeast as a "common pot" on which all depended for sustenance, and in which those who could take control of more owed assistance to those who were weaker and so had less. The common pot was not a conflict-free paradise: those who had less owed allegiance and acquiescence to a lower place in the social hierarchy to those who had more. The English had a more exclusionary view in which the privilege of the powerful was to cordon off space and to exclude others from it and its resources. Puritans attempted to mold the northeastern coastal region to their experiences and expectations in order to make their own place. But Natives often turned colonial institutions to their own use to subvert attempted European control and reshaping of space, for instance by using writing to assert their own understanding of proper land use. Southern Algonquians perceived their multiple communities as strongly linked to homelands, to connections along waterways and through kin relationships.[29]

Natives in Northeast America cultivated relationships with kin and allied tribes, as well as made their own appeals to European monarchs, based on their understandings of connection between peoples and places.

Native political topographies functioned quite differently and took little notice of differences among the English like those between Baptist and puritan. While their homelands did not match up with English-drawn colonial boundaries, Algonquians contending with southern New England demonstrated an astute understanding of the rivalries between English colonies as well as those between European empires.[30] Although outside the bounds of this book, it is important to note that "Dawnland" or eastern Algonquian peoples such as the Wabanakis continued to exert powerful influence over English and French efforts farther north and east long after King Philip's War had weakened most southern Algonquian groups.[31] Natives were much more than pawns on a European chessboard; the English and other Europeans often only dimly perceived the complex political calculations of which they were only one part.

The late seventeenth century was a pivotal period for Native peoples in southern New England, with King Philip's War, shifting intertribal alliances, and ever-expanding land encroachment by the English. Economic relationships also shifted after New England colonial governments disestablished wampum as a legal currency.[32] While King Philip's War and later conflicts were devastating to many southeastern Native tribes, Algonquians did not disappear from southern New England after 1676.[33] However, after that point they could not marshal direct military opposition to the English, and it became increasingly difficult for individual Natives and Africans to win recognition or space from the English for their competing worldviews.

The late seventeenth century was also a difficult time in the puritan Atlantic. In the years after the failure of the Protectorate and through the reign of George I, the aim of a pure Protestant community seemed under attack from every direction. The period after 1660 saw the increasingly strict enforcement of the decrees and practices of the Church of England on the eastern side of the Atlantic, and on the western side, the revocation of the Massachusetts Bay charter, the institution and downfall of the Dominion of New England, and heightened warfare with Algonquian peoples, including the extremely bloody King Philip's War. With the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 ending the toleration of Protestants in France, it seemed as if Protestantism was in danger of being wiped from the face of the earth. In 1688 and 1689, royal officials' attempts to hide the news that the Protestant William of Orange had taken over the English throne from the Catholic James II seemed to point to a Catholic conspiracy to put the colonies under the

control of France and—by extension—the pope.[34] For those who were convinced or hopeful that Protestant countries, especially England, were to take part in bringing about the new Jerusalem, the prospect of their apostasizing to Catholicism was seen as a portent of Satan's imminent triumph.[35]

Disconnect between religious affiliation and political boundaries intensified anxiety about the fate of countries and empires. Once England became Protestant, high-level and popular rhetoric about the imperial powers of Portugal, Spain, and France often couched rationale for fears of, and wars with, these polities as a religious battle between Protestant and Catholic.[36] But English Catholics and French Huguenots complicated any simple correspondence between English and Protestant, or French and Catholic.[37] The commercial rivalry between the two Protestant powers of England and the Netherlands resulted in three wars during the seventeenth century, testimony that religious affiliation was not the only concern driving foreign policy. Ireland remained a potent Catholic force at the geographic core of an English empire. Many English Protestants asked themselves what it meant to be a professor of the faith and a member of a community, commonwealth, nation, and empire, uncertainty only intensified by their interactions with each other and with Natives and Africans.

Race, Religion, and Identity

Techniques of differentiation based on skin color, religion, and gender were not new to the seventeenth century, nor did Europeans have a monopoly on them. Neither the seventeenth century, nor the eighteenth century, nor the sixteenth century is the origin point for a calcified notion of biological race. Indeed, the search for that origin point distracts our attention from the ways in which categories of difference have functioned at specific times and places.[38] European intellectuals did spend many pages trying to figure out the cause and meaning of human difference during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as their societies came into contact with peoples in Africa and the Americas, but their answers drew upon religion as well as upon skin color and freedom status. The latter markers of categorization were not the only or most important ones to which English colonists turned in the middle of the seventeenth century. Religious affinity was often a more significant component of identity in the period.

From the mid-seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries, Europeans increasingly defined difference racially rather than religiously, but

their concept of race remained inflected by religious ways of marking difference. English and other European descriptions of Jews used rhetoric about their existence as a visually different race and linked supposed character traits to physiognomy. The English likened Spanish and French Catholics to the indigenous people with whom they interacted. Thus framed, the separation between Protestants and Catholics frequently overshadowed variations among particular strains of English dissenters. That evolution of difference drew on elements of a transatlantic intellectual culture but was also rooted in local circumstances. Differences in religion often provided a language for Europeans to express their perceived superiority over Africans and indigenous people of the Americas, superiority that could have bodily characteristics. Upon encountering southern Algonquian settlements inhabited only by the dead or dying, some puritans in the 1620s and 1630s interpreted Natives' susceptibility to European disease as a sign that the English were meant to rule over the land.[39]

The religious and racial currents of categorization ebbed and flowed across each other in more than one place. European theologians wrote treatises on the origins of Africans and Indians according to biblical accounts.[40] Puritan divines and enthusiasts in Old and New England picked up on some of those themes of the origins of all people. Some put forth the idea that Natives were one of the Lost Tribes and the eastern coast of North America the new Israel, as support for their decision to leave England. This theory of Indians' Israelite origins also encouraged metropolitan support for the colonies. By supporting the colonies, the English in Old England would be supporting Indian conversion, which would help bring about the second coming of Christ and the millennium. For others, Indians were Gentiles and could only experience mass conversion after the conversion of the Jews. A few might be eligible for conversion before the millennium, but their origins precluded their attainment of Christianity before that series of events.[41] The discussion hinged on the issue of America's relative place in Europe's sense of space, and whether America was a long-separated part of the same whole, or an entirely different entity whose full incorporation into the European Christian world required the end of this world.

The indeterminacy and tension between different categories of belonging and affinity (race, region, gender, and religion) is what makes attention to identity a useful means for unraveling the complexities of seventeenth-century social structures. Identity emphasizes the significance of religious affiliation as a means to determine insider/outsider status, as

determined primarily through practice in addition to any explicit, articulated theological stance. In this context, the term points to the ways in which people related to each other and created categories of difference. Individuals and groups took what was soft, malleable, and contested, and described it as if it were hard, intrinsic, and non-negotiable, even as they maintained multiple allegiances.[42]

Puritan spiritual concerns reorganized the priorities of state, class, race, and gender as grounds for drawing boundary lines between insider and outsider. Religious concepts shaped ideologies of race and gender in case law regulating unlawful sex. The moments of contention caught in the court records record the struggle over believing bodies and their proper regulation—how people ought to behave. These moments permit the reconstruction of localized communities and small-scale relationships, the particularities of small groups of people. But this microlevel of reconstruction has greater implications. English colonial courts' struggle to discipline individual bodies of fornicators was part of a larger process of creating and using categories of subjection, domination, and privilege. Individuals disagreed over the boundaries of the community and how to determine who might belong to it. They turned to the critical factors of race and religion to define those boundaries and to make them appear inevitable and unchangeable, rather than contingent on context. Many English Protestants who dissented from the established Church of England came to accept race as a dividing line in the religious cosmos despite their commitment to the idea that the only religious separations should have to do with the soul and spirit.

The book is divided into three parts. In "Defining," the chapters explore the overlapping spaces in the puritan Atlantic. The first chapter follows Bermuda's Atlantic connections to the Caribbean and to Africa in order to begin telling the full story of the definition of bodies on the island. The first African and indigenous Caribbean inhabitants of Bermuda shaped the land and coast, entreated other-than-human persons, and began to make place out of uninhabited space. The next two chapters map the contours and characteristics of Algonquian communities in southern New England and of the puritan body of Christ in Bermuda and New England. Part 2, "Performing," considers an array of religious practices that in some way challenged English puritan conceptions of the body of Christ. It begins with the uncertain welcome the English gave Natives and Africans into the body of Christ as they debated the parameters of that body. Chapters 5 and 6 examine two groups, English Quakers and Irish

Catholics, whose ritual performances and embodied existence interrupted any sharp and easy one-to-one mapping of racial and religious boundaries. Christian communities formed by people of color are the focus of the next two chapters. "Praying Indians" in New England reminded the English that "Christian" was not limited to "English" or even "European." References to religious instruction in indenture contracts for African and Native children offer a window onto their efforts to gain entry to the body of Christ, a membership that, in English eyes, grew more conditional as the association between darker skin color and servitude strengthened. The third section, "Disciplining," focuses on three aspects of legal performance that regulated sex in the body of Christ. Unlawful sex was a key vector of ideas about race, religion, and the boundary between insider and outsider. Chapter 9 surveys concepts of, and language about, sinfulness and uncleanness in English and European references to interracial sex. This language was based in religious attitudes about all sex outside marriage, not interracial sex in particular. Substantial Bermudian case law, the focus of chapter 10, revealed a shift in the status of women of color. Through the seventeenth century, women of color were sinners whose sexual activity fell under the purview of community regulation, but by the beginning of the eighteenth century their disappearance from unlawful sex cases signaled their primary definition as property. The appearance of race and specific religious affiliation in English colonial laws regulating sex was irregular. The last chapter focuses on the lesser-known and later appearance of racial language in sex law in Massachusetts and Bermuda, moving beyond Virginia's more frequently discussed 1662 and 1691 statutes. The 1662 Virginia statute doubled the fine for fornication between "any Christian" and "a negro man or woman," while the 1691 statute outlawed interracial marriage. Massachusetts divided potential offenders into "Christian" and "Negro or other slaves" in a 1705 law but had less focus on an inherited Christianity than Virginia. Bermuda's 1723 law did not use religious categories and confined its differentiation to racial labels. The redirected efforts to discipline the body of Christ altered its lineaments to exclude people of color, configuring space so as to give them little place in the community of sinners.

A Note on Terminology and Editorial Process

Choosing racial labels and terminology is a fraught process that has no perfect solution. When referring to Native peoples of southern New England, I use specific tribal/sachemship affiliations when possible, and

Native and *Indian* interchangeably when discussing Native peoples as a group or English ideas about Native peoples. *Tribe* can be problematic because of its association with consigning Natives to a distant past, but it is also important for many Natives today in their ongoing efforts for governmental and public recognition as distinct political entities and so I use it advisedly. I use *English* for both colonists in New England and in England as many colonists maintained strong ties and traveled across the Atlantic with relative frequency.

Michael Jarvis argues that the English colonists in Bermuda, linked by dense patterns of trade, family, and settlement and largely free of interference from the proprietary Somers Islands Company, came to depend on each other and by the 1630s experienced an "ethnogenesis of sorts" in which they thought of themselves as "wee Bermoodians" first and foremost. He suggests that the same may have been true even for the earliest African and Indian slaves imported in the 1610s, who gave their island-born children English names. *White Bermudian* seems appropriate to describe English-descended Bermudians, given that most often that group was marked by its lack of a racial identifier and the word *white* appeared at least occasionally in records by 1679.[43] Using *black Bermudian* in reference to African- and Indian-descended Bermudians is more problematic. The term contains within itself what James Sweet termed "the quiet violence of ethnogenesis," the implicit fact that the creative forces marshalled by Africans in the Atlantic world were necessary in the first place because of the destructiveness of the transatlantic slave trade. Subsuming Indians—most of whom were of indigenous Caribbean origin for much of the seventeenth century although Natives from the North American mainland were also present—into the category of *black Bermudian* elides the direct and indirect ways that European diseases and invasions decimated many Indian peoples of the Americas. Indians reached their largest percentage of the enslaved population listed in probate inventories in the first decade of the eighteenth century, when they made up a fifth of all slaves listed.

It is true that people identified as *Indian* and *African* in Bermuda were in broadly similar situations: the island had never had an indigenous population, so neither Indians nor Africans were in territory to which they had more than a few generations of connection. There was no sustained indication, beyond concerns over one particular shipment in the mid-1640s, that white Bermudians were unsure about enslaving Indians. But Bermuda was not completely isolated. The difference between Indian and African mattered as part of ongoing debates over the meaning of race

as a way to classify humanity into hierarchical categories based on sets of characteristics marked by skin color.[44] I have chosen to use *black* and *Indian* when the Bermudian records use specific identifiers of "Negro" and "Indian," but the somewhat ahistorical *Bermudians of color* when referring to Africans and Indians as a group in Bermuda specifically.

For ease of reading quotations of primary sources, I have silently substituted *th* for the thorn (*y*), expanded abbreviations, and switched *u* and *v*, *i* and *j* to conform with modern usage. As a reminder that the words were recorded in a very different time, however, I have reproduced irregularities in spelling and syntax.

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Part I

Defining

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1 / "One Indian and a Negroe, the first thes Ilands ever had"

In August 1616, the English ship *Edwin* returned to Bermuda after a voyage to the Caribbean. In addition to "plantans, suger canes, figges, pines, and the like," it carried two individuals whose arrival marked an important event in Bermudian history and in the history of the Atlantic slave trade. Disembarked on the twenty-one-square-mile island were "one Indian and a Negroe, the first thes Ilands ever had." In having these first non-European inhabitants brought to Bermuda, Governor Daniel Tucker had acted on the Somers Islands Company directives to send a ship to the Bahamas to trade for "sundrye things . . . for the Plantacion, as Cattle Cassadoe Sugar Canes, negroes to dive for pearles, and what other plants are there to be had." The English were hoping that Bermuda's formidable reefs would yield riches in the form of pearls, and they took steps to secure skilled African and Indian experts from Spanish colonies in the Caribbean.[1]

The arrival of the two pearl divers brought in the *Edwin* was significant in several respects. It began the multicontinental habitation of an Atlantic island: Bermuda was one of the few places Europeans settled that did not have an indigenous population. The instructions from the colony's proprietary company to seek out an enslaved African and an Indian showed English eagerness to learn from Iberian colonization techniques, as the divers' arrival was made possible by sixteenth-century English privateering raids on Spanish and Portuguese ships and colonies. The disembarkation of the two men marked the earliest introduction of enslaved labor to an English

colony in the Americas, three years before the *São João Bautista* landed "20 and odd. negroes" in Virginia in August 1619.[2]

The presence of these two men in Bermuda was notable, but as is so often the case in the documentary record of the slave trade, the inked words preserved only their occupation and racial descriptors. They and the other Africans and indigenous peoples of the Caribbean who soon joined them had names, past experiences, and an outlook on the future, but the spare mention of "an Indian and a Negroe, the first thes Ilands ever had" or one early colonist's notation of cargo including "a good store of neggars" made no allowance for anything more than their relation to the development of the colony.[3] And contribute to that development they did: in addition to providing much of the labor that made English colonial society function, their knowledge made fundamental changes to the shoreline, the beds the English lay in, the roofs over their heads, and the very food they ingested.[4]

The early generations of enslaved and bonded Africans and Indians shaped more than the physical contours of early Bermuda, however. They continued to practice the skills that connected them to other-than-human persons whose power enabled them not only to comprehend their environment but also to affect it directly.[5] In their initial approach to Bermudian shores, in fishing, processing manioc, thatching and weaving with parts of the palmetto tree, as well as making cords with cotton and palmetto fibers, they altered the spiritual landscape in ways that are perhaps less tangible to Western scholarly inquiry but no less significant to investigating these individuals' influence on the tiny archipelago in which they found themselves. This approach does not reinforce the stereotype of non-European peoples as communing peacefully with nature at all times, but rather acknowledges that there was little theoretical divide between body and spirit and pinpoints some material practices through which Africans and Indians accessed the other-than-human persons who populated their early Bermuda. Indeed, all seventeenth-century peoples lived with an ever-present world of the unseen. Although each conceived of that world in different ways, it was one that left impressions on their senses and bodies and that was inextricably intertwined with human action and society.[6]

The bare approximations of numbers tell us that by 1620, when twenty-nine shipmates of the "20 and odd. Negroes" landed in Virginia were brought to Bermuda, between fifty and one hundred Africans and Indians had already joined the two pearl divers, who probably came from Margarita Island, off the coast of present-day Venezuela. These early arrivals included significant if unknown numbers of women as well

as men, and—as was not the case in many other locations where Europeans created a larger population of slaves through increasing imports of people—births outnumbered deaths among enslaved Africans and Indians in Bermuda from the beginning. Indeed, natural reproduction was also the primary cause of growth in the English population; the island-born across all racial categories probably became a majority of the population as early as the mid-seventeenth century.[7] Although initial generations of Africans and Indians were bound to thirty-year indenture terms that in the more healthful environment of Bermuda did not necessarily mean enslavement for life, the English decisively shifted toward institutionalizing racial hierarchy and practicing slavery as a heritable condition by the end of the 1630s.[8] Slaveholding was widespread among Anglo-Bermudians, and the island's close quarters meant that the small numbers of slaves in any one household did not result in isolation.[9] Intimate island geography made runaway communities impossible while irregularly enforced proclamations and acts exiled free people of color, which meant that by the last third of the seventeenth century, darker skin color became legally synonymous with an enslaved status. By 1676, Governor John Heydon forbade any further importation of "Negroes, Indians, and Malattoes," as he was concerned that there was not enough work for the bonded laborers already on the island. In 1687, the governor reported 1,737 "negroes" in Bermuda, a number that represented one-third of the total population.[10]

But the numbers alone cannot conjure the worlds from which the enslaved and the dislocated came, the worlds they brought with them, or their struggles to make their own place in the space they were forced to call their new home. Untangling these multiple layers of meaning requires imagining the archive in an expansive way and leads us to other kinds of sources and evidence: archaeological reports, ethnographic descriptions of religious practices, and origin stories, among others. It also necessitates leaving the bits of rock and soil that protruded from the Atlantic several hundred miles from the nearest landmass and reversing the involuntary journeys to their beginnings in Africa and the Caribbean. It is there in Central and West Africa and in the indigenous Caribbean that we will find the clues to piece together the tales of lives, homes, and communities lost and put back together again, only to be pulled apart once more by the calculations inscribed in the flesh of human property devoured by the slave trade.[11]

Though all historical narratives, regardless of their subject of focus, contain an element of imagination, the speculative nature of this particular venture is more explicit than for many. In addition

to the lack of Somers Islands Company records, many personal papers from the period, and anything akin to the rich social, cultural, and biographical detail recorded in the Inquisition trials held by the Roman Catholic Church, the vagaries of slave trade routes and island demography blur any attempt at a finely grained analysis of the spiritual lives of Africans and Indians that points to exact cultural transfers from elsewhere to Bermuda. Even without being able to recognize the outlines of many specific African or indigenous Caribbean practices, as scholars have been able to do for other parts of the Atlantic world, it is imperative to consider the few that are clearly visible and to suggest those that might have been.[12] Sketching out some aspects of the worldviews of the two pearl divers, of other Africans and Indians who soon arrived, as well as of their children, rearranges a European-dominated archive that frames their lives as unknowable and unintelligible and begins the important voyage toward understanding the layered stories that made up the strata of the island's history. This reconfiguration permits a fuller recounting of the lives of the enslaved in early Bermuda beyond their appearance on a list of "sundrye things," mere chattel in European maneuverings in the Atlantic world, and connects their productive and reproductive work to those around them and those they left behind.[13] Their actions, performances, and memories carved, shaped, and named rock, soil, and sea into a many-peopled place rather than leaving Bermuda as a mere waystation or likely wrecking ground on the way to some more important destination elsewhere in the Atlantic.

"Divers small broken islands . . . in forme not much unlike a reaper's sickle"

There is no way to know what the two unnamed pearl divers carried on the *Edwin* thought as they first saw Bermuda, if they overheard and understood the specifics of the crew's concern about the treacherous course over shallow reefs that in some places extended more than ten miles from shore, or if they merely picked up on a generalized tension. But it is still essential to attempt to look over their shoulders.[14] The captain may have permitted them to remain above deck because they were individuals with highly valued skills and were not in the company of a large enslaved group, so they might have gotten the initial glimpse of land along with the crew. That glimpse would not have come until quite late in the ship's approach because the low-lying islands were notoriously difficult to sight from the water.[15]

The journey to Bermuda was probably only the latest in a series of dislocations for the two men. Whether the man labeled "Indian" in the English colony's records was from a collection of peoples in the Greater Antilles whom scholars have named Taíno; from the Lesser Antilles and an Arawak speaker dubbed an "Island Carib"; one of the Guaquerí who were indigenous to Margarita's companion island, Cubagua; from the mainland Caribbean coast; or perhaps even a Pancaruru from the *sertões* or the "inland wilderness frontiers" of Brazil, he came from a community devastated by the consequences of European arrival in the Americas more generally and Spanish demand for labor and material riches specifically.[16] After establishing the fisheries on Margarita and Cubagua in 1516, the Spanish had turned to several peoples in sequence to do what Bartolomé de las Casas described as the "infernal and desperate" work of harvesting the pearl-bearing oysters, occasionally even bringing in experienced divers from Brazil.[17] The African diver would also have survived disruptions multiple times, as dynastic wars and Portuguese campaigns of enslavement in West Central Africa uprooted people from their natal lands and created captives for the transatlantic slave trade.[18] Spanish importation of enslaved Africans to the fisheries picked up in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and in 1558 the Crown ordered that the Africans replace all Indian divers. The mandated transition was never completed, and Indians continued to endure harsh treatment in the fisheries, as well as to dive on their own account. By the end of the sixteenth century, the vast majority of Africans being brought into the Spanish Americas had come from Angola. Most of them disembarked in Vera Cruz or Cartagena before being sold to traders and owners in Margarita and elsewhere. Those who came from coastal regions may have already been skilled in diving for oysters, whereas those from inland regions would have learned the hazardous work after being brought to the fisheries.[19]

Or the men may have been born in the place from which they were sold to the captain of the *Edwin*. Free and unfree individuals from Iberia, from other parts of the Caribbean, from mainland Central and South America, and from Africa all interacted in pearl-fishing settlements like the ones on Margarita Island, and there is some indication that Spanish officials did not perceive African divers to be of recent import from Africa.[20] If they had fled their enslavement in a fishery, either with or without the large canoe in which they worked, they might have been living away from European settlement along the coastline of Spanish colonies or on otherwise uninhabited small islands.[21] Regardless of their

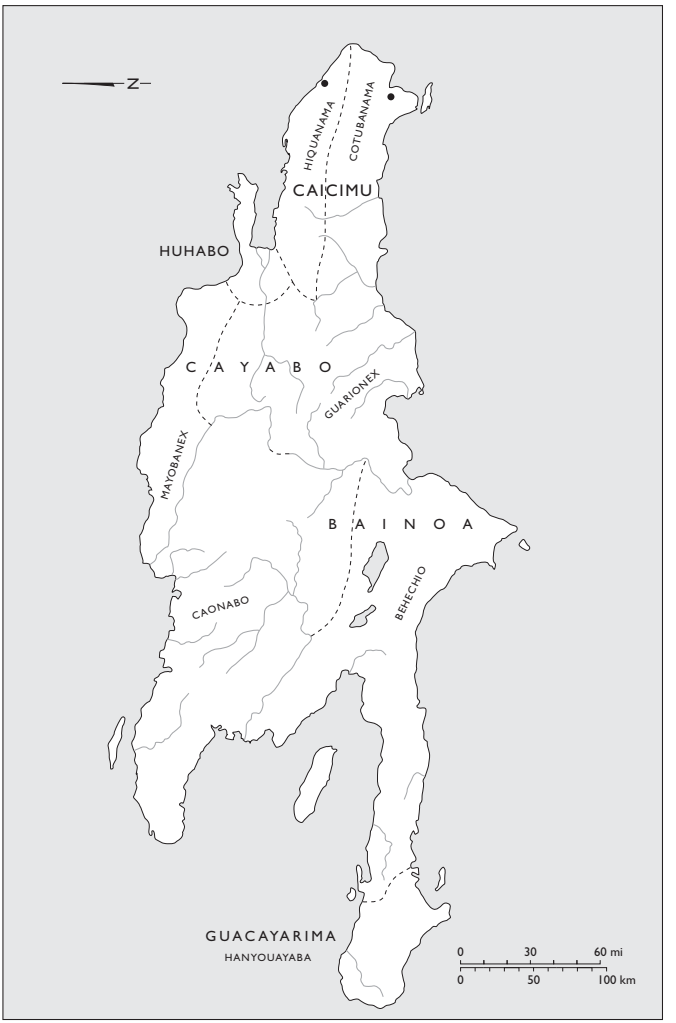

Figure 1.1. Map of Taínoan provinces and *cacicazgos* or political divisions on Hispaniola, with east at the top of the map. The eight cacicazgos were keyed to eight parts of the body, with the head (Caicimú) at the top. The caves that were the eyes of the "monstrous beast" are represented on the map by two dots. (Figure based on Peter O'B. Harris, "Nitaíno and Indians"; and Harris, communication with William F. Keegan; adapted with permission)

birthplaces, they would have entered a world and a community forced to recover continually from the empty spaces caused by high mortality rates and the drive for profit in human flesh.

It is impossible to know the exact origin of the "Indian" who arrived in Bermuda in 1616, but whatever his particular ethnic grouping, his people had always—or at least as long as anyone could remember—been in the watery world of the Caribbean. Taínoans found their beginnings in the gourd that hung in the creator Yaya's house and contained his son Yayael's bones. When the gourd broke, it created the oceans and first fish.[22] The pearl diver very probably welcomed the sudden sight of the trees on the low-lying island that barely broke the undulating surface of the ocean. If he were Island Carib or Kalina, perhaps he felt for the wood pendant around his neck that he wore to discourage the malignant force of a maboya. The pendant would have been carved to approximate the form in which the negative other-than-human person had appeared to him.[23] Although his people without question depended on the bounty of the salt water for sustenance, travel, and trade, he would still have marked that first glimpse of the spine of the island riding above the waves, perhaps comparing it to shorelines he knew.

For Taínoans, Hispaniola was their ancestral home, and it housed the sacred caves that were the place of origin for all people in the primordial time: Cacibajagua (Cave + jagua, a fruit whose black juice was used for ritual body paint) for Taínoans, and Amayaúna (the Cave without Importance) for everyone else. It was an island whose body was, in Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's sixteenth-century account of Taínoan beliefs, that of a "monstrous living beast of female sex" from whose caves people had emerged. More than the origin point of human society, this beast shaped political organization and relationships in the human present even as its back was the land that supported their dwellings. The island was split into eight *cacicazgos,* or domains, that corresponded to eight key body parts of the beast: two eyes, a mouth, two forelegs, two hind legs, and the genitals. The power of the cacicazgos was based on their corporeal location on the astronomically oriented beast. Its head was in the east, where the world begins with sunrise—the southeast part of Hispaniola was Caicimú, *cimú* meaning "front, forehead, first" in Taíno—which made the southern cacicazgos equivalent to the right hand and so senior to those in the north (figure 1.1).[24] Even though those political units had collapsed in the wake of Spanish colonization in the sixteenth century, that kind of body knowledge could have passed on from one generation to another, if only as spirit memories, tingling remembrances of limbs no

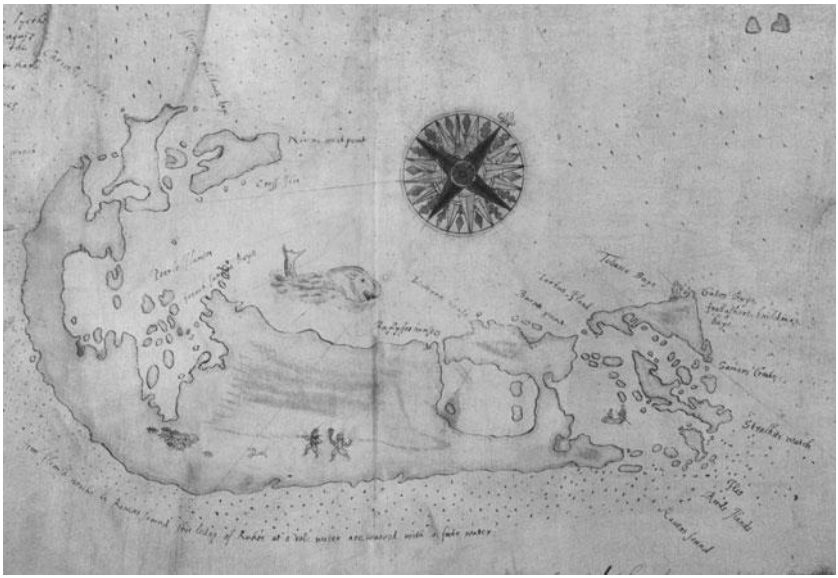

Figure 1.2. Sir George Somers's manuscript map of Bermuda, ca. 1609, with later place-names added. Some details of the coastline are inaccurate, but the map still conveys the fishhook layout of the islands. Bermuda Archives, Bermuda National Trust Collection.

longer present. It signaled the links between the living earth and human bodies, and between the beast body and political body.

Bermuda would never replace that most ancient of homes, but later the man may have caught sight of a hand-drawn map of the island chain, sketched in European fashion from an aerial perspective (see figure 1.2).[25] Nathaniel Butler, the third governor and the author of one of the earliest histories of the "small broken islands," described their shape as echoing the curve of a reaper's sickle, but the modern comparison to a fishhook is a more apt simile for a marine environment and one that would have made more sense to the pearl diver.[26] Perhaps in its connotation of an essential activity, the fishhook shape of the islands suggested that Bermuda, too, could be life-giving, offering the man hope that here, where once again he would have to begin anew, he would be able to make it into something familiar, something vaguely like home.

The man described simply as "African" in the account of the *Edwin*'s voyage was probably taken from Angola in West Central Africa, or if Caribbean-born, raised by adults taken from there.[27] Whether originally from an inland or coastal people, the man would have known to respect

and fear the sea. This charged relationship to water would have come not only through his work as a pearl diver, but also from his people's understanding of the world around them. There were many different peoples and religious practices in West Central Africa, but they shared a knowledge of water as cosmologically significant: not only was it one of the three primary domains, along with earth and sky, but it also separated the land of the living from the land of the dead. Before crossing a river, people would take up white clay from its bottom and smear it on their faces to repel any evil that might approach them in such a powerful place.[28] If he was one of the minority of the enslaved in Spanish America who was from the Bight of Benin in West Africa, he would have associated crossing water with a deity named Olokun and the passage from one world into the other through death or birth. The cross formed by one of the ship's masts and the yard might have made him think about the original act, the division of the universe into the two worlds of the dead and the living.[29]

Having spent at least some time in the Caribbean, the man would not have thought of a passage across water as a definitive journey to the land of the dead, as some Africans initially feared when they were loaded onto oceangoing ships. Even if originally from an inland people, he had been enslaved at least long enough to acquire diving skills and perhaps for his entire life, so he would have known that this latest saltwater passage meant the death of his most recent life and a birth into something new, something unknown. And he would have known, intimately, that though Europeans did not literally chew and swallow the flesh of the Africans they bought and sold, they did indeed consume their captives through the trade that exchanged enslaved bodies for money as well as a wide range of commodities.[30] With his familiarity with coastal waters and his ability to evade the marine dangers that plagued pearl divers, he could have been a healer whose powers to keep other divers safe had been made known by his spirit-guided discovery of a strikingly shaped shell. He could thus be looking forward to finding and collecting stones, plants, or shells to make powerful medicine for this new location. Or he may not have been skilled in ritual practices and have wondered who would help him cajole the appropriate water beings now.[31] If he saw the shores of Bermuda before being disembarked, perhaps he wondered what his dwelling space on land was to be, and if he would be able to medicate it correctly with *minkisi,* power objects that conveyed access to a particular other-than-human person. Or he might have scanned what he could see of the coastline to get a first sense of the local forces that

inhabited particular spaces, whom he was about to encounter and need to invoke for assistance.[32]

Once established in Bermuda, the pearl divers quickly discovered that the reefs surrounding the islands did not host rich oyster beds. Labor was at a premium in the young colony, and, rather than allow them to stay idle, the governor probably reassigned the men to planting sugarcane and tobacco. This land-based work was perhaps dangerous in more predictable ways than pearl diving—rollers that pressed cane stalks, boiling coppers of cane juice, or sharp-edged weeds among tobacco plants were not as agile as marine predators—but required their own sets of demanding skills.[33] Some of the earliest people of color in Bermuda were familiar with the many tasks required for the successful planting, harvesting, and curing of tobacco, given that it had been cultivated for nearly a century not only in much of the Spanish Americas, but also in Angola and other parts of West Central Africa. A man named Francisco certainly was well versed in tobacco production, as the planter Robert Rich valued his "judgement in the cureing of tobackoe" highly enough to pay the extraordinarily large sum of one hundred pounds to obtain his service.[34] To the two divers, however, this work would have been unfamiliar.[35]

Although the reefs were barren of pearls, the men did have some occasion to exercise their diving abilities when shipwrecks created other kinds of riches for them to retrieve. In 1621, the divers provided essential knowledge when Governor Nathaniel Butler directed them to recover cargo after the *San Antonio* ran aground on Bermuda's treacherous reefs. Although some of the wreck lay above the water line, the most prized cargo of "Silver barrs and chest of Rialls" was not so easily located by people in the small boats that retrieved other goods, and Butler would have needed the divers' assistance in searching for it.[36] Bermuda had not yet offered much occasion to practice diving skills, in contrast to the opportunities it afforded for tobacco cultivation and curing, so there had been little reason for others to learn from the divers. The men themselves, not only their knowledge, were necessary for a successful operation.

"Make their present repayre unto the Craule Point"

One of the most easily observable contributions of the other people of color who joined the pearl divers in Bermuda can still be seen in the indentations called "crawls" that punctuate its coastlines and remain in its place-names, but this physical imprint and inherited nomenclature carried parallel influences in the world of the unseen. Crawls were natural

or human-made ponds set up to hold previously caught fish, which, by the eighteenth century, existed in locations a fair distance inland. Bermudians still refer to Crawl Point and Crawl Hill, among others. Indians and Africans introduced this technique of maintaining a readily available supply of fish without having to salt it on a daily basis. By 1623 in Bermuda the practice was established enough that salt pans to facilitate the preservation and stockpiling of fish "in this tyme of scarcitye,"[37] were built near the crawl for which "Craule Point" was named. The indigenous peoples of the Caribbean built corrals with varied materials, including branches and cane stalks. Some functioned more as weirs to trap fish as they swam in or as the tide went out, whereas others kept alive fish caught through other means, such as cast nets.[38] The word *crawl* itself has West African roots, via the sixteenth-century Dutch approximation *kraal*.[39]

The presence and actions of Indians and Africans fishing from Bermuda populated the realms of the other-than-human as well as the tables of their English masters. Fishing went beyond feeding the physical body. In the Taínoan cultures, it had associations with the origins of the universe and was as much about maintaining the spiritual vitality of the community as it was about satisfying fleshly hunger.[40] Fishing was thus an occasion to interact with the forces of the water, of the weather, and in the fish themselves through rituals designed to coax those other-than-human persons and ancestors into providing abundance. Fish motifs figured prominently on stone collars worn by Taínoan caciques during ritual performances of their leadership such as *areíto* dances and feasts. Lucayans made effigy vessels in the shape of the poisonous porcupinefish, denoting their interest in the fish as more than just food to feed the physical body. One such vessel was recovered in a location where the main activity was to make ritually significant beads from a shell that displayed the highly sought-after quality of brilliance, or *guanín,* which indicated a concentration of power and energy. This thorny jewelbox shell, *Chana sarda,* retained its bright scarlet color for centuries, making it particularly valued.[41] Small offshore islands, or cays, in the Bahamas were often located in the middle of productive fishing grounds. Nearly every cay in that archipelago contains an archaeological site with evidence of ritual activities. Other Taínoans besides Lucayans also saw places with a rich fish supply as containing spiritual power because of that abundance. Ile à Rat, a cay off western Hispaniola, has a similar mixture of a high concentration of fish bones and ritual objects, indicating the multiple ways its former inhabitants worked to ensure the health of all.[42]

Fishing held an important place among coastal peoples in West Central and West Africa. In West Central Africa, ritual fishing expeditions were part of the accession of a new ruler, in part because of the association with water and the connotation of beginnings and rebirth. The first fish was sent to the leader's wife, who prepared it with her own hands and then gave of her labor back to the community, to the fishermen, who ate the fish. Dancing and ritual chants marked this ceremonial meal and harnessed the power inherent in water, directing it in ways to benefit the community. Some Kongo initiation rites also included ritual fishing after the rebirth of the initiates into their new roles. The Italian mathematician Filippo Pigafetta reported the Portuguese explorer Duarte Lopes's descriptions of proscriptions around types of fish, so that some "*Fishes Royall*" were reserved for leaders. In Guinea, fishermen honored their ancestors by decorating their canoes with spiritually powerful grains and colors of paint.[43] Even though Indian and African fishermen in Bermuda were no longer fishing entirely for themselves, perhaps they persisted in approaching the other-than-human persons associated with water and others essential to a good catch—more than ever, they were in need of an abundance of fish, since they were not able to control the disposition of the fruits of their labor. And in the place shaped like a fishhook, hundreds of miles from any other land, the resident forces seemed to have been appeased enough to continue to provide the creatures that filled the belly and connected to the beginning of time.

"Sundrye things . . . for the Plantacion, as Cattle Cassadoe Sugar Canes"

The same instructions that directed Governor Daniel Tucker to procure pearl divers also specified a search for "cassadoe," or cassava, a tuber already recognized as essential to the success of European colonizing ventures in the Americas and tied to the growth of the transatlantic slave trade.[44] Also called bitter manioc, cassava contains high levels of a poisonous alkaloid that, when ingested, turns into cyanide. Leaching out the toxin was a time-consuming process, and it would have taken up a significant proportion of bonded laborers'—especially women's—time. The tuber had to be peeled before grating or shredding it. The resulting pulp was pressed in some way, either in a tube basket or through a cloth, to remove as much of the poisonous juice as possible. The paste was then dried, further ground as necessary to break up the larger pieces, and toasted or baked over a fire. The juice was boiled to neutralize the poison and then used as the basis for pepper pot, a dish with chili peppers and

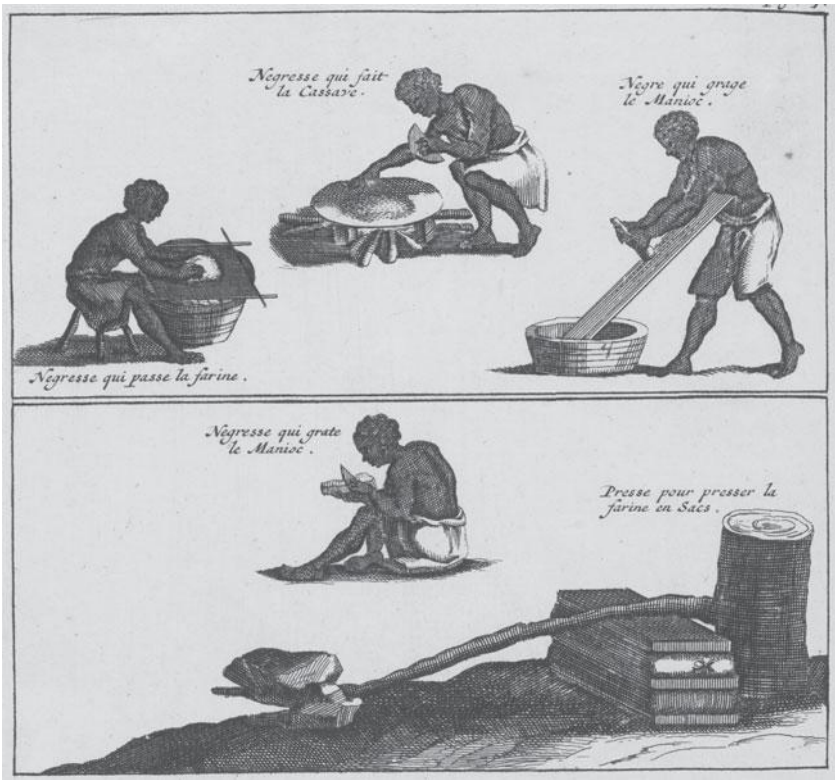
Negresse qui fait la Cassave.
Negre qui grage le Manioc.
Negresse qui passe la farine.
Negresse qui grate le Manioc.
Presse pour presser la farine en Sacs.

Figure 1.3. Manioc processing with a black woman ("Negresse") performing most steps. This engraving is based on one that appeared in Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les Francois* (Paris, 1667), 2:419. Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'America*, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1724), plate before p. 127. (Courtesy of the Huntington Library)

other vegetables, as well as animal protein of meat or fish. Jean-Baptiste Labat's account of his time in the French Caribbean in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century includes a detailed engraving of the stages of manioc processing; its caption specifically notes a black woman ("Negresse") performing most of them (figure 1.3).[45]

Although Labat's depiction is of a place under the control of a different European power and from a later time period, the gendered division of labor accords with earlier descriptions of task distribution related to manioc. The French Jesuit Jean Baptiste Du Tertre used an engraving with very similar figures set in the yard of a large plantation in his 1667 *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les Francois*. Among Taínoan peoples,

Figure 1.4. "Method of making bread." The indigenous women shown were likely making bread from maize, but the steps for making cassava bread were very similar. Girolamo Benzoni, *La historia del mondo nuovo* (Venice, 1565), 56v. (Courtesy of the Huntington Library)

both men and women cultivated and collected manioc tubers, but women were responsible for processing them.[46] Because of its placement in the text, a woodcut from Girolamo Benzoni's 1565 *History of the New World* probably depicts women making bread from maize, but his accompanying text also details the steps for making bread from manioc, preparations that would have looked quite similar (figure 1.4).[47] The tuber was an import to Africa, but there, too, women were largely responsible for processing raw plant materials into edible food. Antonio Cavazzi's impression of the division of agricultural labor in West Central Africa was that "all the work is left to the women, they alone hoe the ground." The English traveler Richard Jobson opined that no women could be "under more servitude" than those he observed along the River Gambia, where the "very painefull" work of separating edible grain from the husk was "onely womens worke."[48]

The actions required to make manioc safe to eat would have carried divergent meanings for Indians and Africans. For Taínoans, the starchy substance was food from the gods. Their cultural hero Deminán had wrested the life-giving root from the primary god, Yaya, by theft, an action that was a key part of bringing culture to humans. One of the aspects of fertility held the title "Yucahuguamá," or "Lord of the Yuca," *yuca* being the Taínoan word for manioc.[49] Another indigenous people so identified themselves with this original food that they described themselves as Kalina or Karina, "manioc eaters."[50] The tuber carried entirely different meanings of commodification in the context of Africa and the transatlantic slave trade, in which traders used it to victual soldiers and slave ships. Its flour, which was less susceptible to spoilage or infestation than were European grain flours, became a staple of human trafficking in the sixteenth century. For many Native peoples in Portuguese-controlled areas of Brazil in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, manioc became yet another example of the labor their masters extracted from them, rather than being a means of self-identification. Over the next century, slave traders switched to cultivating the crop in Angola, where they assigned the work to children and the elderly. Despite missionary Antonio Cavazzi's review of the widespread manioc as "optimal sustenance," enslaved Africans made to raise the crop were reminded daily that others strove to control their bodies, that the slave trade had made the very act of subsistence into a performance of cultural alienation rather than affirmation. Such work was yet another demand placed on top of already onerous labors.[51]

By the early 1620s, manioc cultivation was so widespread and successful in Bermuda that not only was there some to spare for export, but one of the island's ministers lauded the tuber as an example of the Christian deity's goodness to the English. When the struggling Jamestown settlement in the Chesapeake sent to its sibling colony for food in 1622, Governor Butler offered "Cassada roote" along with other plants, fowl, and rabbits.[52] Lewis Hughes's 1621 *A Plaine and True Relatione of God's Goodness towards the Summer Ilands* instructed English colonists that "The Casava roote is like to proove a great blessing of God unto you, because it makes as fine white bread as can be made of Wheat, and (as I am perswaded) wholsome; because the Indians that live of it, are tall and strong men."[53] Rather than giving credit to Africans' and Indians' vital expertise, Hughes subsumed their knowledge and toil under a divine benificence. Hughes's appropriation is all the more notable because his recipe for the "fine white bread" detailed all the tasks of preparing manioc for consumption (figure 1.5). Although Hughes did not mention who

The planting of Caſaua would not be neglected, becauſe it is a ſure foode: your Corne is ſubiect to blaſting, and to the wormes, ſo is not the Caſaua.

How to make Bread of Caſaua rootes.

FIrſt waſh, and ſcrape cleane, or pare away the out-ſide. Then grate the root vpon a Grater, as you do bread: get Graters made of purpoſe, with holes ſomewhat bigger then ordinary.

If you want a Grater, you may make ſhift with a rough pumiſh ſtone, whereof you may finde ſome vpon the Bayes by the Sea ſide, or with nayles broad pointed, driuen thick through a bord.

Preſſe out the iuice through a Bagge of haire, as you doe Veriuice; then ſpread the grated roote vpon a cleane cloath in the Sunne to dry.

That which will not goe through the Siue, beat in a Morter till it be ſmall like meale, and ſift it againe.

Take the ſifted roote, and ſtrew it in a cleane dripping panne, and put it into the Ouen, and it will bake in a quarter of an houre.

The Ouen muſt not be too hot.

You muſt not knead the roote, as you doe Dowe, nor put water to it, but ſtrew it dry, like Saw-duſt, almoſt an inch thicke.

If you haue no Ouen, you may bake it on a Triuet or three ſtones, with a little fire, if you make a great fire, it will not bake, but crumble like Saw-duſt: remember to turne it three or foure times, vnleſſe you bake it in a Ouen, then it needes no turning.

Your chiefe and Marchantable commodity for the preſent

Figure 1.5. "How to make bread of casava rootes." The directions list the labor-intensive steps while omitting any mention of the women whose responsibility it would have been to complete those tasks. Lewis Hughes, *A Plaine and True Relatione of God's Goodness towards the Summer Ilands* (London, 1621), B2v. (Courtesy of the Huntington Library)

would have made the bread, it is likely that English masters would have assigned the arduous task to enslaved Indians and Africans whenever possible. His brisk list of the required steps obscures the labor contribution of people of color, particularly the vital work of women, as shown in figure 1.2 and figure 1.3, tasks and movements that would have defined the rhythms of their days. Indian bodies were present in Hughes's construction only as object signs and pictures of "tall and strong" animal health, indications of the safety and efficacy of the root as "wholsome" food for the English.

Such slippage is typical of many European accounts that ascribed Indian and African knowledge to colonists' own inventiveness, divine benevolence, or both. Richard Ligon often elided the knowledge and skill of enslaved Africans and Indians when he described plantation life on Barbados, writing as if European colonists had discovered the plants and techniques on their own. The unmarked European "we" accomplished the harvesting and propagation of the manioc tuber: "as we gather [the root], we cut sticks that grow nearest to it, . . . which we put into the ground, and they grow. And as we gather, we plant." Ligon did, however, acknowledge Indian expertise in cooking "this Pone" and in teaching him how to use it to make a piecrust that would not crack.[54]

Nathaniel Butler's *Historye of the Bermudaes* extolled the "great aboundance" of introduced plants such as plantains, tobacco, manioc tubers, and watermelon, which "providence and paines have since the plantation offred divers other seedes and plants which the soyle hath greedily embrased and cherished." The "paines" Butler described were Europeans' effort in getting the seeds and plants to the island, where, in his account, the soil did the rest. But in addition to "providence," the soil's embrace of these new plants required knowledgeable human intervention. Butler obliquely noted that the only knowledge about the "name and vertue" of "divers . . . namelesse" plants came from people unwillingly brought to the island as slaves. To them, Butler's nameless plants with unknown usages were known quantities, a relationship that Butler acknowledged. He wrote that "already certaine of [the plants], since the comeinge in of the newe guests, have gotten them appellations from their apparent effects."[55] Butler knew of the contribution made by enslaved Indians and Africans, but his euphemistic reference to them as "newe guests" omitted any direct reference either to their familiarity with the subtropical plants or to the forced nature of their arrival.

The discursive erasure of the bodies and knowledge of non-Europeans made it easier for colonizers to maintain a mental map of a colonized landscape in which success resulted only from "God's goodness" and

their own superior skill and intelligence. Like "God's goodness" in Lewis Hughes's description of cassava in Bermuda, Butler's circumlocutory use of "newe guests" to refer to enslaved Africans and Indians did more than obscure the knowledge transfer from Africans and Indians to the English. It removed from English view the coerced nature of the work performed by slaves in Bermuda, as well as framing their bodies as nothing more than empty vessels that—when filled with cassava bread—proved that the unfamiliar food was a solid foundation for the colonial enterprise. This elision inverted the structure of expertise and confirmed rather than challenged English belief in their own intellectual and cultural superiority, thus supporting the development of a racialized contempt.

One English colonist's praise of an African man's skill at curing tobacco, a rare acknowledgment of the desirability of Africans' knowledge, underlines the gender and status components of these formulations rather than undermining their overall strength. When Robert Rich acknowledged Francisco's "judgement in the cureing of tobackoe," he did so because he was trying to convince his relatives that a great increase in the amount of merchantable tobacco would give them substantial returns on the £100 investment necessary to secure the man's abilities. Indeed, his descriptions of Francisco's skills seem to have been accurate, judging by the following seasons' outputs.[56] But neither Rich nor other Anglo-Bermudians made mention of women's skill and labor in turning a poisonous tuber into a staple food. Even as women's work in processing cassava was a daily necessity in the early years of the colony as well as in the broader development and continuation of the transatlantic slave trade, that essential economic contribution escaped the notice of men like Robert Rich, accustomed as they were to being served by women who had also processed the food.[57] Labor like the processing of manioc has rarely entered the historical record in definitive, individualized form and yet would have irrevocably shaped the muscles, ligaments, and bones of the women who were not countless as bodies in the service of an imperial venture—for that purpose they were very specifically counted—but too often have remained uncounted as persons.

"A tree Called the Palmeto"

Indian and African knowledge transformed the intimate spaces of English life on Bermuda. Their knowledge about the complex manipulation of plant fibers to create sleeping surfaces, roofs, vessels, wall decorations, and clothing influenced the construction of houses, housewares, and sleeping arrangements. The forced immigrants were

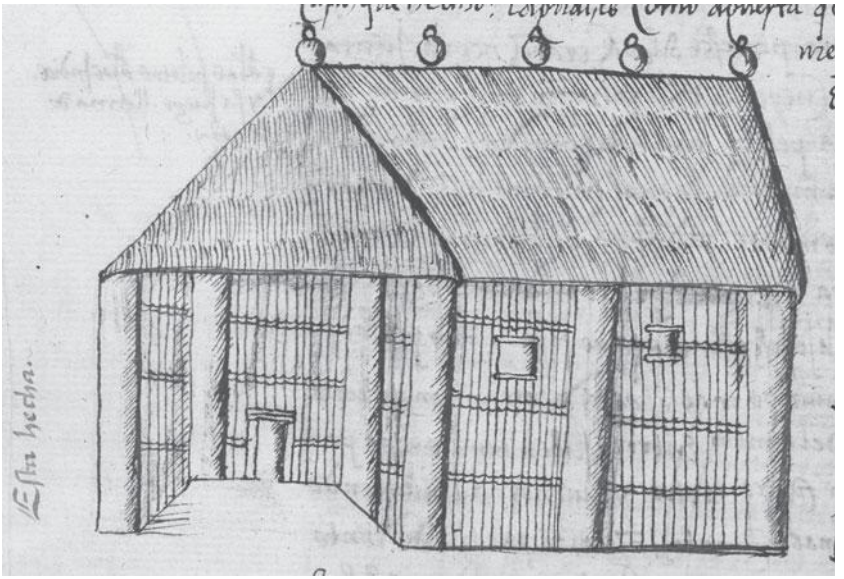

Figure 1.6. Taínoan palm-thatched house. Note the "esta hecha" along the left-hand margin, indicating that this image was already "made" and incorporated into the published version. Gonzalez Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, "Montserrat Manuscript" of *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, vol. 1, fol. 4r. (Courtesy of the Huntington Library)

probably responsible for the most widely used roof construction in early Bermuda, a thatch made with leaves from the local palmetto. The English were familiar with thatching, but they tended to use rushes or marsh reeds. Palmetto thatching continued to be widespread even once that colony was well established. In 1688, Governor Robert Robinson reported that for 84 percent of households, the palmetto "leafe [was] the only thatch of their houses."[58]

Palm thatch was common throughout the Caribbean as well as in West Central and West Africa. Houses in the Taínoan Caribbean, whether the larger dwellings found on Hispaniola and Cuba or the smaller ones common in Borikén (Puerto Rico), were thatched with palm leaves. The sixteenth-century Spanish bureaucrat Gonzalez Fernández de Oviedo's early accounts of Taínoan life included both rectangular and round palm-thatched houses (figure 1.6). Unlike many early and quite fantastic images of the Americas that circulated in Europe, these illustrations had

some foundation in reality and were based on drawings done by Oviedo himself.[59] Pieter van den Broecke noted approvingly that in Loango, in Angola, people used palm leaves to "cover their houses, which works very nicely," whereas Richard Jobson described walls "of Reede, platted and made up together, some sixe foote in height, circling and going round their Towne," which he noted in his travels along the River Gambia.[60]

Nor was the relatively rough work of thatch the only use for palm leaves that Africans and Indians instituted on Bermuda. The newly imported Bermudians taught their English masters to make mats and other cloth, baskets, cords, and hats. Lucayans valued the palm fibers for their shininess, and they made tightly woven baskets of intricate designs. Other Taínoans also wove baskets and mats. In Kongo, people used split-vine baskets for carrying and storing, as well as making baskets, mats, and rope from palm leaves.[61] Their tutelage was so successful on Bermuda that in 1688 Governor Robert Robinson stated that the trees were of "soe greate & Extraordinary use & Service to the people that without them it is Generally opinioned they Could not have Subsisted," since, in addition to using their leaves as roofing material, "they alseo Make Cables [and] Chaires with such like necessarys."[62]

Weaving with palm leaves was a highly developed art in West Central Africa, and European travelers and missionaries compared woven palm-leaf cloth to the finest European-made silks. Filippo Pigafetta praised the "marvelous arte" of "making . . . Sattens, Taffata, Damaskes, Sarcenettes and such like" from "the leaves of Palme trees" in the eastern provinces and areas adjoining Kongo. Indeed, the finest specimens were too "precious" for any but "the king, and such as it pleaseth him." Cavazzi wrote that the beaten leaves of one type of palm resulted in such fine, soft fibers that the weave of the cloth thus produced brought him to "astonishment."[63] Pigafetta noted that the process started with keeping the palms "under and lowe to the grounde, every yeare cutting them, and watering them." Once the "tender" leaves were "cleansed & purged after their manner," techniques that he did not further specify, "they drawe forth their threedes, which are all very fine and dainty, and all of one evennesse, saving that those which are longest, are best esteemed. For of those they weave their greatest peeces."[64] European observers, including Cavazzi himself, were not always so laudatory about woven palm. Although Cavazzi had praised the fine nature of some palm cloth, he disdained it as an adequate covering for an infant undergoing Christian baptism. Mocking the social pretensions of couples who added a noble honorific to their infants' names despite their lowly status, Cavazzi's evidence

for their "miserable" condition was that they could never even hope to own a handspan of land and that they had only a "simple and green leaf, instead of linen, to cover" their babies. His reference to a leaf may have been an exaggeration for effect, since a finely woven cloth would have been appropriate for an important ritual.[65]

African weaving techniques influenced the development of the distinctly Bermudian and quite profitable plat industry, which involved braiding palm leaves into thin strips that could then be sewn together to build hats, baskets, and other objects. The composite method of combining narrower widths to produce a wider finished piece of cloth or other object, as well as the absence of specialized equipment, was an outgrowth of a centuries-old industry in West and West Central Africa. West Central African weavers produced the complicated cloth remarked on by European observers on a simple apparatus made from easily procured materials. According to one Italian missionary to Kongo in the early eighteenth century, weavers did not have a "loom specifically made for the task, but they plant two pieces of wood in the ground, placing the fibers between them" and then used a stick instead of a shuttle to weave the woof or horizontal fibers of the fabric. When there were dedicated looms, as archaeologists have found across West Africa dating from as early as the thirteenth century, they produced a cloth of relatively narrow width.[66] Off the coast of West Africa in the Cape Verde Islands, weavers used such looms to make cloth from cotton and sometimes imported silk. To make wider pieces of fabric, weavers sewed together six strips that were each five to six inches wide and five to six feet long.[67] This technique, used on palm fibers instead of cotton thread, is visible in Cavazzi's painting of a scene in Matamba. One man holds up woven palm fabric with differently patterned bands, apparently for the inspection of the seated man at the right-hand side of the painting whose headgear indicates that he is a Mbundu individual of high status (see figure 1.7). The elaborate cloth, imported from Kongo since the Mbundu inhabitants of Matamba did not make palm fabric worked in that fashion, was worn only by elites such as the seated nobleman. It is likely that the highly valued cloth formed part of the payment for a shipment of slaves taken from the interior and that the man holding the cloth was a *pombeiro,* or factor, of a slave trader on the coast.[68]

The strips produced through plat making in Bermuda were only one-half to one inch wide, far narrower than the five- to six-inch width common in West and West Central Africa, but the process of making a finished object was the same. Initially, Indians and Africans who

Figure 1.7. Palm fabric, 1670s, showing the construction of thinner strips joined together and the elaborate patterns woven into the cloth. Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi, "Araldi Manuscript," in "Un Cappuccino nell'Africa nera del seicento: I disegni dei Manoscritti Araldi del Padre Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo," ed. Ezio Bassani, *Quaderni Poro* 4 (1987). (Courtesy of Michele Araldi)

joined the two pearl divers would have been the ones who were familiar enough with the material to begin producing the strips. Taínoan and other indigenous Caribbean peoples do not seem to have used the composite technique, but they did use palm fibers to weave baskets as well as cloth, sometimes incorporating luminescent feathers of mainland birds acquired through trade. Since weaving was gendered differently among Africans and indigenous Caribbean peoples, it was probably indigenous Caribbean women and African men who first made plat. Women were the weavers in the Caribbean, both of open-weave items like hammocks and nets and of more tightly woven objects like baskets, mats, and clothing.[69] In many areas of West and West Central Africa, in contrast,

weaving was men's work, although women helped prepare the materials for weaving.[70]

As the first enslaved practitioners taught the English the technique for making rope, hats, mats, and other items, producing plat became work for all women, one that required no special equipment, although some households did use wheels to take up the braided strips. Over the second half of the seventeenth century, plat manufacture became such a significant cottage industry that in 1691 the island's government protected the local supply of the raw materials, forbidding any export of unworked palmetto tops or even brooms and cordage. After hats and bonnets made of plat became a highly desirable fashion accessory in England in the 1720s, the profits of the industry were five times greater than what the island's maritime activity produced in that time and twice as lucrative as seventeenth-century tobacco exports from Bermuda. Though the activity of plaiting was widespread among all Bermudian women, those who could command the labor of others reaped the most profit. Several white Bermudian widows, such as Mary Gilbert and Elizabeth Tucker, were among the few dozen plat brokers who dominated the trade, drawing not only from the work of the women they enslaved but also from that of women in surrounding households.[71]

"Ropes for other Uses"

When Governor John Hope arrived in Bermuda and was asked to report on the state of the colony in 1722, he described its economic status as balanced on two trees, the cedar and the palmetto: "Of the Cedar they Build their Sloops & Fishing boats; & of the Palmetto leaves, they make a sort of ware call'd Platt; as likewise Cables for their Sloops, & Ropes for other Uses."[72] The most common material for ropes was palmetto fiber. The beginning of Hope's term as governor coincided with the early stages of the plat boom, and even once the plat market bottomed out a decade later, the other half of his assessment remained accurate. Cedar trees furnished the materials for the Bermudian turn to a maritime economy fueled by buoyant, fast cedar sloops rather than the on-island production of either staple or food crops, a reorientation of the island's economy that occurred after the Crown dissolved the proprietary Somers Islands Company and took over the colony in 1684. But the governor's comments applied in more ways than he probably realized. The cordage that enslaved and poor Bermudians made from the palmetto was certainly useful for cables to use in fitting out the sloops that became a mainstay of the island's economy.[73] The first generations of practitioners, however, may also have

seen something beyond the creation of a merchantable product in the thousands of yards of cordage they produced. The product and the work to make it may also have held spiritual meaning, especially in the early years of the colony when the connections with Africa and the Caribbean were more direct and when English colonists were still learning how to work within their new environment. Those meanings, like the palmetto fibers that indigenous Caribbean Indians and Africans twisted into ropes, were intertwined in a blending of human and other-than-human interaction.

Ties, cords, and knots held spiritual meaning and function in many of the cultures that early slaves brought with them to Bermuda. They were a way to connect the world of the living to the world of the dead and of other-than-human persons, and to provide a conduit between those worlds. Ritual and physical functions sometimes overlapped, as they did in making the cord required for many fishing techniques: fishing was ritually significant in addition to its furnishing an important protein source.[74] Spinning and tying plant fibers into nets or weaving them into cloths and containers of various kinds were actions that provided for the outer container of the physical body while also having meaning for the inner essence of a person.[75]

Cords and ropes could tie a boat to a landing and a burden in a basket, but they were also religiously significant in and of themselves: they closed packets of spiritually charged medicine, adorned ritual clothing, and bound the limbs of religious specialists and their associated power objects. Though few of the Africans brought to Bermuda in the first decades would have had West African links, those who did would have had strong associations, both negative and positive, with cords. In vodun, a slave was a "person in cords," while a *vodunon*, or religious specialist, might counter such enslavement by a powerful object, or *bocio,* bound in cords. The object and concept were linked with death because of the practice of tying corpses before burial, as well as the belief that the dead used cords to bind and harm the living. Cords were also connected to the other direction of the passage between life and death, as pregnant women sometimes wore cords around their hips as a protection against miscarriage. A powerful image and object, a cord could also indicate durability, connection, and the vitality of human action.[76] West Central Africans also used cord imagery in religious rituals. Tying up a *nkisi* bound power to the object and prevented it from escaping, and Kongolese Christians extended this practice of *kanga* to the Christian pantheon and tied cords around their hands and feet on feast days to demonstrate their status as slaves to Christian spiritual forces.[77] Fine cotton cords dyed red or violet suspended the shells or stones in crescent shapes, or *caracoli,* that Kalina prized for their powerful

reflective qualities and color. The brightness of the cord complemented that of the pendant, a quality that signified a concentration of energy.[78] Taínoans also used cordage in ritually significant objects. One form of chiefly regalia used cordage or sometimes wood to complete a stone collar. Even in all-stone collars, sculpted cords binding figures suggested the continuing importance of cords and binding in Taínoan religious practices. The bodies of the deceased, especially if the individuals had held high status while alive, were wrapped in hammocks before burial, another example of how cords connected the worlds of the living and of the dead.[79]

Ligatures held an even more specific ritual function among Taínoan peoples, as religious specialists, *behiques,* bound their limbs with cotton cords to close up their bodies and make them better suited to be channels for communication with other-than-human persons. Although these details are not common in European textual descriptions, this type of binding can be seen on the arms and legs of a *cemí*, a ritually powerful anthropomorphic figure. In the case of a cemí found in a cave near Maniel in Hispaniola, its cotton and possibly palm-fiber body houses the skull of an ancestor. Cord binding served to tie shut the joints, which were access points into the behique's body, and concentrate his spiritual power without interference from intrusive substances or beings.[80] Not only did the cords around the limbs denote the spiritual function of the object—perhaps mimicking the abilities of the once-living ancestor—they also accrued power to the new form of the ancestor's person. The cotton and other plant fibers gave the ancestor a "new face," reproducing the Taínoan belief that the apparent body is an outer shell and that persons are composed of parts that can be separated from one another and exchanged. The cordage of the cemí's face thus sat at the threshold between the living and the dead—the spirits of the living, or *goeíza,* were concentrated in the physical structure of the face because of their ability to display emotion, while the spirits of the dead, *opía,* resided in the skull bones because the skeletal form could not express emotion. A new face for the ancestor-as-cemí facilitated that person's participation in clan relationships.[81]

It is unlikely that the first Indian pearl diver brought to Bermuda or any of the captives imported after him would have been able to bring with them anything like the cotton cemí found near Maniel.[82] Separation from the ancestors was a less tangible part of the losses created by the transatlantic slave trade and chattel slavery, but its marks would have been deep, even if invisible alongside physical scars on the bodies of the enslaved. If part of the violence of slavery was being ripped away from countless generations of ancestors, cords could provide some means to

access those beings again, even when separated by hundreds and even thousands of miles in the apparent geography of the early modern map.

That collapsing of time and space could happen for vodun practitioners, who were already familiar with taking voduns with them after being uprooted from their natal lands in West Africa, long before being tangled in the transatlantic slave trade. But it could also occur for other peoples who did not have as strong a tradition of traveling shrines for ancestors. In Kongo, even though fixed shrines were the place for descendants to approach an ancestor, those were not the only locations that held power. Minkisi were smaller power objects associated with a specific problem and being who worked on that problem. They traveled more easily not only because they were often physically smaller, but also because they could be made from objects in one's surroundings.[83] Remaking the connections between all the generations who had crossed the threshold into the world of the dead and the currently living generations was not easy, but it was something enslaved individuals learned to do over and over as the demands and desires of their masters moved them throughout and around the Atlantic world.

At first glance, all it is possible to know about the first two enslaved people on Bermuda are the labels Europeans applied to them and something of the physical knowledge contained in their lungs, legs, arms, and hands that their new owners hoped to exploit. The pearl divers and the Africans and indigenous peoples of the Caribbean who joined them after 1616 certainly shaped early Bermudian society, as well as the very landscape and contours of the coast. But beyond their contributions to the colonial enterprise, they brought with them other-than-humans who populated their surroundings and made a particular place out of inchoate space. Attention to these less tangible layers of environment permits a deeper—even if necessarily conjectural—sense of the process of defining bodies and making place in an early modern Atlantic colony. Although obscured in the imperial historical record, the propitiations and maintenance of the beings who made themselves known to humans were reproductive practices that in their seemingly ephemeral performance brought whole worlds into existence. Enslaved Africans and indigenous Caribbean peoples worked to transform Bermuda into a place that could be like home, where they gained familiarity with the local other-than-humans who inhabited the world of the dead that was just a threshold away.[84] Although their efforts were perhaps unmappable in precise terms, they still began the formation of Bermuda's sacred geography, at once intensely local, rooted to that particular sea- and landscape, and ocean-spanning; grounded in their here-and-now, as well as connected to the ancestors, to the first creation.

2 / "Joyne interchangeably in a laborious bodily service"

In June 1675, Awashunkes, the *saunks* or female leader of the Saconets, an Algonquian people who lived on the coast of what the English called Narragansett Bay, had an important decision to make.[1] It was not one she could make alone, so she called for all those within her influence to gather for a *nickómmo*, a ritual dance and feast. Two decades earlier, the colonist, trader, and sometime religious exile Roger Williams had noted that Narragansetts (as did other peoples in the region the English knew as New England) held the nickómmo in times of crisis—"in sicknesse, or Drouth, or Warre, or Famine"—as well as "After Harvest, after hunting, when they enjoy a caulme of Peace, Health, Plenty, Prosperity." This 1675 occasion was definitely the former, and was possibly a divination ritual.[2] Opposing sides in the military conflagration that later came to be known as King Philip's War (1675–76) sought Awashunkes's allegiance. Emissaries had come from the Wampanoag community at Mount Hope, Philip's stronghold, as well as from the English settlements of Plymouth. Benjamin Church's account of the war noted that Awashunkes had called her "subjects," which included "hundreds of *Indians* gathered together from all parts of her dominion," to "make a great dance." When Church, the Plymouth military leader, arrived at the dance on her invitation, he saw that "*Awashonks* herself, in a foaming sweat, was leading the dance." She and other Saconet leaders stopped dancing in order to conduct diplomatic discussions with Church.[3]

The political and military consequences of Awashunkes's decision to ally with Philip against the English have been well explored elsewhere, as have the ways in which the outcome and aftermath of King Philip's War

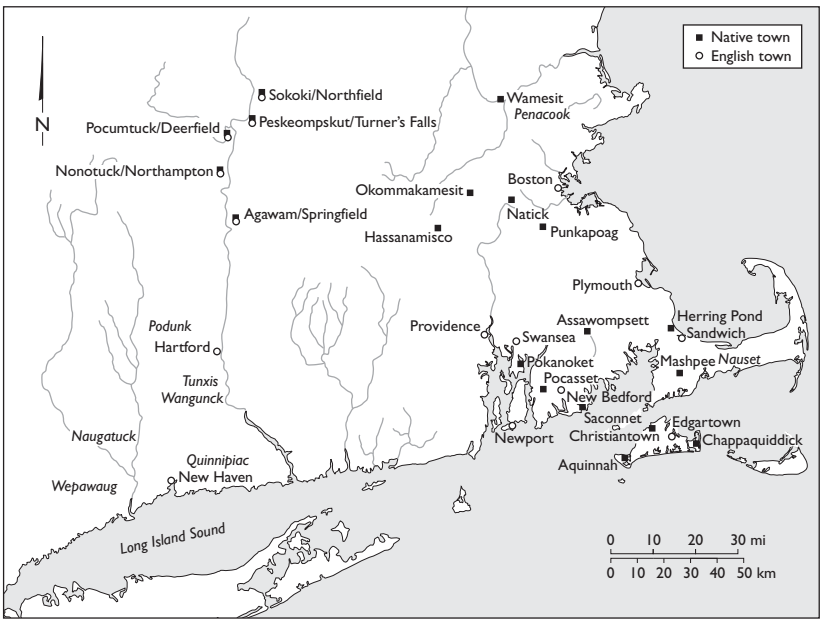

Figure 2.1. Map of selected Native and English places in seventeenth-century New England.

fundamentally reshaped life in southern New England and contributed to racialized definitions of difference.[4] Awashunkes's recourse to a nickómmo in a time of crisis offers a different kind of opportunity to consider definitions of bodies among the Native peoples in present-day southern New England, one focused on practices that stretched across the divide of King Philip's War and indeed continue today. These communal rituals both provided the means to move beyond the physical body to access spiritual power and served as the enactment of hierarchical community, of connection among human individuals. Long before English puritans brought ideas of the body of Christ to the land they would dub New England, Saconets and other Algonquian tribes in the region performed their own notions of the communal body, inscribing the land with their presence.

Roger Williams's general description of a nickómmo in *A Key into the Language of America*, a phrasebook and collection of his observations on Narragansett life, emphasized the communal aspects of the event as well as the participants' perspiration. Williams wrote that after a *powwow*, or

religious specialist, began "their service, and Invocation of their Gods," then "all the people follow, and joyne interchangeably in a laborious bodily service, unto sweating." The movement of "all the people" was so unified, intricate, and vigorous that all perspired, while the powwow's "strange Antick Gestures, and Actions even unto fainting" suggest particular movements meant to cross boundaries between seen and unseen worlds, or between human and other-than-human worlds.[5] The physically strenuous characteristics of ritual dances and feasts, often noted in English accounts, were a means for their participants to strengthen the corporate body of the gathered human community as well as reach out to other-than-human persons who held animating power, or manitou, that could be brought to bear on behalf of the human supplicants.

The "laborious bodily service" described to Roger Williams (he feared potential negative spiritual consequences from direct observation and so used informants) as well as other feasting rituals offer a vantage point onto the actions and experiences of seventeenth-century Algonquian peoples in a time of accelerated change, a means to look over their shoulders as they danced and feasted, moving as individual and corporate bodies reaching to access the powers of the unseen. In considering the clothes, jewelry, and food they wore, consumed, gave away, or destroyed, we can also learn something of their embodied environments and the objects Pocumtucks, Narragansetts, Massachusetts, Nipmucs, Pokanokets, and others used to create and strengthen relations with other persons, whether human or other-than-human.[6] A focus on ritually significant feasts locates specific people in a specific place, even if their names have often not made their way into the documentary record, places that continued to exist and change as English and other colonists enacted their own constructions of community, place, and body. The religious theorist Thomas Tweed has argued for "excavating the landscape's moral history," of knowing the contours of the inequalities of previous as well as current inscriptions of power. Partnerships of non-Native and Native scholars and current Native communities are doing just that, examining the resonances between the past and present and making rites of commemoration visible beyond the immediate participants.[7]

Landscapes also have an experiential history of people moving through and around them with purpose, creating enduring meaning through their performances even when the feeling of contracting and relaxing muscles and the sounds of tinkling and jangling beads, metal cones, and shells have long faded away. The interplay between part and whole, the level of physical exertion, and the multisensory actions come

through even in imperfect, only partially comprehending contemporary English accounts of these events.[8] When joined with the evocative objects recovered through archaeological research, the textual remains of this and other ritual performances expand the available archive for tracing Native definitions and imagining the experiences of faithful bodies, both individual and corporate. Those experiences were different from individual to individual and from one culture to another, even as all took part in a process of humans working to define the limits of their physical bodies, to understand and cultivate their relationships to the beings and forces with spiritual power, and to enact a balance between divergence and overlap, equality and hierarchy.

"All their neighbors, kindred, and friends, meet together"

A nickómmo such as the one Awashunkes initiated enacted an underlying approach that guided relations among human and other-than-human persons. In redistributing wealth, some of which was displayed while dancing, these rituals kept the resources of the "one dish" or "common pot" in balance.[9] Although the "one dish, one spoon" language comes from a later period and more northern location, the concept of connection among all members of a community held true among the Ninnimissinuok, Wabanakis, and other Northeast Native cultures and is reflected in contemporary English descriptions.[10] While the southern Algonquian common pot emphasized shared resources among humans and other-than-humans as it mandated particular sets of relationships between parts (individuals or specific communities) and the whole (the space of the Northeast), communities allocated those resources in stratified ways. Leaders controlled access to valuable types of goods and displayed their power through the redistribution of those goods rather than through their accumulation, as was more common among Europeans. A shared common pot did not create an egalitarian paradise among Natives. Rather, its maintenance was the means by which peoples realized inequalities in economic, social, and political arenas.[11] They also fought over who might get to share a particular space and who was an outsider to be kept away. These contested embodiments of the concept offer a rich starting point from which to consider the Native bodies, Native communities, and Native space that underlay the puritan English body of Christ as a way of structuring the Northeast.

There were significant ritual variations within groups and also across groups, but the related iterations pointed to the fundamental concepts of

connection, reciprocity, the cycle between destruction and regeneration, and the permeability of bodies. Kathleen Bragdon has argued that rituals sponsored by leaders or other individuals for more personal reasons were more centered on accessing manitou than those public events that occurred on a calendrical or seasonal cycle.[12] While calendrical rituals might have been less focused on an individual's access to the specific power of a particular other-than-human person, they were part of the corporate quest for spiritual health that required interaction with other-than-human persons. In both cases, the gathering of individuals into a community that acted in concert was key to the performance of the ritual. According to Edward Winslow, Pokanokets would "meete together, and cry unto" the creator god Kiehtan "when they would obtaine any great matter." Participants would "sing, daunce, feast, give thankes, and hang up Garlandes and other thinges in memorie of" or hope for "plentie, victorie, &c."[13] In rituals such as the *Keesakùnnamun*, Roger Williams observed "a kind of solemne publicke meeting, wherin they lie under the trees, in a kind of Religious observation, and have a mixture of Devotions and sports." Various Algonquian peoples held "great dances" annually on the ripening of green corn, which happened in August or September. In August 1637, Conanicus and Miantonomi, Narragansett leaders, sponsored a "strange kind of solemnity" that lasted for nearly two weeks during which "all the Natives round the country were feasted," while "the sachims eat nothing but at night." An Eastern Niantic green corn dance in 1669 was the supposed occasion for a conspiracy led by Ninigret, a plot that members of several Native tribes had hatched at an earlier dance hosted by the Mashantucket Pequots. Regardless of any plans to assault the English, the dances were occasions to reconnect with kin and assert community autonomy.[14] Among the Nipmuc, the missionary Daniel Gookin noted harvest feasts in which "all their neighbours, kindred, and friends, meet together." At those times, "much impiety is committed," not least because "They use great vehemency in the motion of their bodies, in their dances."[15] The assembling of large groups of people enabled humans to connect more easily with each other and with other animate beings.

Throughout the Northeast, particularly significant dreams could prompt an individual to call for a communal ritual. Williams recounted one man's "vision or dream of the sun . . . darting a beam into his breast; which he conceived to be the messenger of his death." The man gathered his "friends and neighbours" in a nickómmo that went on for "ten days and nights." While his friends and neighbors feasted on "some little

refreshing" the man had prepared, he "was kept waking and fasting, in great humiliations and invocations." Invoked in response to the intimacy of a dream, the event strengthened a community through the sharing of food and ritual.[16]

Other occasions for ritual dancing and feasting, which could include the destruction of goods, happened around illness. When a powwow cured a sick person's illness, the happy patient or friends and relatives gave "corn and other gifts" to the powwow at a specific time which became the occasion for a nickómmo. Ritual destruction might also take place to ward away sickness, as Wampanoags told Edward Winslow that Narragansetts had done successfully to avoid the smallpox epidemic that hit the area from 1616 to 1620. At such events, community members contributed "almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skinnes, hatchets, beads, knives, &c. all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes."[17] The more an individual could contribute, the higher a status he or she could attain as a result of the manitou accrued through such destruction.

The performances of ritual feasting and dancing facilitated the connections that linked seasonally dispersed bands into more broadly constructed groups. Roger Williams disparaged this traveling, which to him seemed to be merely a search for dispensations of food and goods: "By this Feasting and Gifts, the Divell drives on their worships pleasantly . . . so that they run farre and neere and aske *Awaun. Nikommit?* | *Who makes a Feast?* Nkekinneawaûmen. | *I goe to the Feast.* Kekineawaúi. | *He is gone to the Feast.*"[18] This perception of disorganization carried through into scholarship by nineteenth-century historians and early archaeologists about apparently marginal areas of southern New England such as the middle Connecticut River Valley. Paying attention to the layered significance and consequences of seasonal intertribal feasting that drew a wide population together recasts such apparent disorganization as social and political flexibility that allowed small concentrations of extended families with multiple leaders to respond to seasonal shifts in available resources, as well as to political crises. In the spring, different tribes "from severall places" gathered at key fishing sites such as the natural falls a few miles north of Deerfield at Peskeompskut, where, in addition to fishing, "they exercise themselves in gaminge, and playing of juglinge trickes, and all manner of Revelles, which they are delighted in."[19]

Archaeological research and oral traditions corroborate the accuracy for Pocumtuck country of Thomas Morton's description of more coastal

groups. Near the dam at Peskeompskut, the soil contains high levels of calcium from fish bones discarded along with artifacts with multiple origins. These intertribal gatherings at Peskeompskut were one example of how peoples shared important resources that lay within a particular village's territory, enacting one aspect of the common pot.[20] When they were not fishing or processing the catch of shad and salmon, Natives performed other aspects of the seasonal rituals. In addition to the feasts and dances, sacred games of chance such as *hubbub* and *puim* were important activities for men in which the more successful players were able to invoke the help of other-than-human persons. Participation not only enabled men to display their spiritual accomplishments, but it also reinforced the gamers' sense of connection to each other and to a particular space in the landscape. Later retellings of particularly spectacular wins and losses enhanced and extended such events far beyond the cast of stones or shuffling of reeds.[21]

The emphasis on networks of relations can also be seen in word construction that made meaning dependent on the specific context. For instance, southern Algonquian languages contained classes of nouns that did not make sense without a reference to what Kathleen Bragdon terms "intimate ownership." In Massachusett, the term for "the house," *wétu*, was not generally used without saying whose house it was. *Neek* was "my house"; *keek* was "your house"; and *week* was "his or her house." In addition to living space, kin terms and body parts were in the same class of nouns. More than minor linguistic detail, these words conveyed a concept of things and beings as inextricably linked and they influenced individuals at the very level of thought, shaping not only what people saw as "normal" or "natural," but also what it was possible to think.[22] Roger Williams recorded a similar list for Narragansett: *Wetu* was "An House," while *Nékick* was "My house," and *Kékick* and *Wekick* were "Your house" and "At his house" respectively.[23] People were linked by kin relationships as surely as body parts belonged to a body.

"They make their neighbours partakers with them"

Early English observers of Natives in southern New England noted a strong obligation to share resources among all members but sometimes missed the required reciprocity that was the other side of the exchange. William Wood described the manner in which the Massachusetts and others "all meete friends at the kettle," a practice that held true "the lesse abundance they have." Whether the available food was an entire

deer or "but a piece of bread," an individual would distribute it "equally betweene himselfe and his comerades and eates it lovingly." Thomas Morton noted a similar practice among the Massachusetts that he linked to classical precedents: "A bisket cake given to one; that one breakes it equally into so many parts, as there be persons in his company, and distributes it." He commented approvingly, "Platoes Commonwealth is so much practiced by these people." About the Narragansetts, Roger Williams wrote: "Whomsoever commeth in when they are eating, they offer them to eat of that which they have, though but little enough prepared for themselves. If any provision of *fish or flesh* come in, they make their neighbours partakers with them."[24] For readers familiar with the Christian Bible, Roger Williams's words would have recalled a passage in 1 Corinthians, "for we are all partakers of that one bread," about the unity of Christians in one body through participation in a ritual meal.[25] A tone of amazement that Algonquians shared so readily with each other and with strangers—even when they did not begin with an abundance—pervades all of these descriptions. Wood, Morton, and Williams each aimed their words at English readers who, they assumed, would share similar surprise that no one went without even if it meant that the elite also suffered privation. The English concept of the common kettle, explored in more detail in the next chapter, did not go quite so far in its demands on those who controlled resources. Focused on the acts of giving that they saw, the English did not articulate or always understand the power inherent in creating an unrequited obligation by being able to give away more than one received.[26]

Partaking with one's neighbors did not imply equality among all members of a corporate body, nor was participation optional. The redistribution rituals at which people feasted reinforced social inequality and the concentration of twined spiritual and temporal power in the bodies of the elites. When a nickómmo was held at the ripening of the green corn or at other harvests, then the distribution of goods underscored that the food was to feed all and that the leaders were the ones with the right and responsibility to distribute it. The "poore" or common people "must particularly beg and say, *Cowequetúmmous*, that is, I beseech you." Common people did not have the option to refuse the gifts, and once they accepted them, they owed allegiance to the giver. The sachem "danceth in the sight of all the rest and is prepared with money, coats, small breeches, knifes, or what hee is able to reach to, and gives these things away."[27] This ritual asking and giving reinforced the bonds among members—human and other-than-human—of the

community even as it highlighted unequal control over communal resources.

These feasts allowed elites an opportunity to display their generosity by granting the requests of the common people for assistance. Edward Winslow described a yearly redistribution among the Wampanoags in which "the *Pnieses* use to provoke the people to bestow much corne on the *Sachim*. To that end they appoint a certain time and place neere the *Sachims* dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corne, and make a great stack thereof." Although this event was seasonal, pniesok (warriors with proven control of significant amounts of manitou) directed the offerings and the formal interchanges between sachem and people, suggesting that the ritual had other-than-human resonances. Once the stacks of baskets were assembled, "the *Pnieses* stand ready to give thankes to the people on the *Sachims* behalfe." Upon receiving the tribute, the sachem "is no lesse thankefull, bestowing many gifts" in return.[28] Refusing to accept a proffered gift or express gratitude was an asocial attitude that, as William Wood recounted, made "an ungratefull person a double robber of a man" as doing so not only withheld courtesy but denied "his thankes which he might receive of another for the same proffered, or received kindnesse."[29] While a captive during King Philip's War with an intertribal group of Narragansetts, Nipmucs, and Wampanoags, Mary Rowlandson did not understand this hierarchical reciprocity, and so did not see consistency in her captors' punishments during her captivity when she tried to hoard food as well as when she begged food from individuals who were lower-ranking than Weetamoe, to whose household she belonged.[30]

"Most of the body remains to this day"

Although the parts of the nickómmo and other feasts most concretely detailed in English observers' accounts were those in which humans interacted with each other, they also connected human participants to the crowded animate world around them, linking dancers and feastgoers to places with much manitou and to other-than-human persons. English observers feared the potency of these connections and communications because they viewed them as commerce with the devil. The combination of their fear, lack of understanding, and outsider status means that these narratives contain only hints of the full sense and consequence of the movement of bodies and the ritual ingestion of food performed at these rituals. However, a broader view of some general principles that ordered

Algonquian perceptions of their bodies and their relation to the environment permits a clearer outline of these meanings.

Native space contained sacred places that linked to different parts of the cosmos, which for most southern Algonquians was divided into three: the upper or sky world; the earth or middle world; and the under domains, often associated with water. The common pot dealt with them all, as spiritual resources were part of what had to be shared among humans and other-than-humans. Because "spiritual" was not separated from "physical" or "material," concrete actions taken to ensure survival aimed to be efficacious in what a Western perspective now splits into discrete realms. Acknowledging this intertwining and seamless flow between what Western cultures compartmentalize into separate concerns is not the same as relegating indigenous peoples to melt into the background of the landscape, communing in some intrinsic way with the plants and animals around them. For puritans and other Christians too, unseen influences and forces animated the world around them, but they were all oriented around an omnipotent God, either flowing from or acting against that entity. Religions in the Northeast and in the Caribbean lacked that singular central point of reference; it was relations between and among humans and other-than-human persons that were the focus, relations that crisscrossed boundaries between seen and unseen worlds.[31]

The act of propitiating other-than-humans was part of this naming of insider and outsider, as those relationships with spiritual force were key to a healthy community body. Living and eating together and all the activities that made them possible were what made the "lived space" of a Ninnimissinuok community.[32] These exchanges maintained the health of the whole community as well as that of the individuals directly involved in the exchange. Activities necessary to physical survival such as hunting animals and collecting plants were imbued with spiritual meaning because manitou inhabited those living beings as well as the places where they might be caught or found.[33] Beings rich with manitou transformed the very landscape. Wampanoags believed the culture hero Maushop, whom Narragansetts knew by the name Wétucks, to have created Nantucket Island off the coast of Massachusetts, as well as places like the Devil's Bridge on Martha's Vineyard. They knew that he created a rock formation on the Rhode Island coast when he discarded his wife Saconet or Squant and later turned her to stone. While still alive, she demanded a toll from all who passed by. After being turned to stone, her body became an important reference point. The English, either not

understanding the significance of the rock formation—or precisely understanding it and wishing to destroy what they viewed as a focus for idolatry—broke off her arms and carried them away. Thomas Cooper, a Gay Head storykeeper who had learned the history from his predecessors, asserted the continuity of Squant's existence since "most of the body remains to this day." A white inhabitant of a nearby town recorded Cooper's account in the early nineteenth century, creating a documentary presence to complement Squant's topological one.[34] This knowledge about place helped link community identity to specific features of the land and sea through the centuries, while also reminding Natives that the English had little consideration for Indian bodies.

The boundaries of physical bodies shared in the permeability between categories of human and other-than-human persons and were little more than perception. This attitude shows up in *hogk*, the Massachusett word for "body," which means "that which covers a man or animal." Rather than being an absolute separation or finite end to identity, the body was a mere covering for the living power or manitou that animated the person or animal.[35] Crossing boundaries between spaces or states of being involved great power that could be dangerous, leading to proscriptions placed on menstruating and birthing women, as well as on warriors about to go into battle and the houses of the dead.[36] When Algonquians slept, their inner self—or soul, as the English translated the concept—traveled outside the physical body to interact more closely with other-than-human persons who might convey spiritually significant messages. That experience was not always a positive one for the traveling essence of the human individual. Frightening or powerful dreams prompted the dreamer to discern their meaning through further communication with the unseen world or, as Roger Williams described it, "When they have had a bad Dreame, . . . they fall to prayer at all times of the night, especially early before day," during the transition from night to day and dark to light.[37]

Healing practices were based in the ability to bring manitou to bear on the sickness at hand. To cure a sick patient, powwows worked to transcend the limits of their physical bodies as well as those of their patients to access spiritual power. William Wood recounted one cure he observed in which the powwow was "smiting his naked breast and thighs with such violence as if he were mad." That violence may have served to weaken the bounds of the body in order to allow the powwow to cross that physical threshold and move into a trance state where he could more easily communicate with Hobbomock and lesser other-than-humans.

Ministers and missionaries John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew disapprovingly noted, "The *Pawwaws* counted their Imps their Preservers, had them treasured up in their bodies, . . . who when they had done some notable Cure, would shew the Imp in the palm of his Hand to the Indians."[38] While they meant to emphasize the trickery of the powwow and what they termed witchcraft or diabolically inspired manipulations of the unseen world, their description reflects the Algonquian belief that human bodies might also harbor manitou-holding agencies, and that displaying them was a sign of the powwow's ability.

Communal participation was another key aspect of the cure, not only by the presence of others, but by their vocal performance. After the sick person was brought to the powwow, "the rest of the *Indians* giving attentive audience" to the "imprecations and invocations, and . . . the violent expression of many a hideous bellowing and groaning" of the powwow, "all the auditors with one voice utter a short *Canto*."[39] The two cures that Matthew Mayhew saw fit to mention in his account of missionary success on Martha's Vineyard both involved a number of "Friends" of the sick and "Spectators." In the case of a man who took on the name of George after his cure, his kin "being met, and dancing round a great Fire" determined that a powwow had caused the illness and so must cure it. The second instance involved a woman whose relations called for renowed powwows from Martha's Vineyard after the local ones were unable to cure her. Mayhew reported, "The *Powwow's*, goe to dancing; who with the Spectators, used certain *Ceremonies* usual in such cases." The powwows were able to extract and catch "the *Spirit* (as they said) which entered the Woman" in a deerskin. The individual abilities of powwows to have "immediate converse with the *gods*" were essential to the success of the cure, but the ritual could not function without group participation.[40]

"Setting themselves out with white and blew Beads of their own making"

Although no written record or archaeological deposit indicates Awashunkes's clothing or anything specific about her appearance during the 1675 ritual with which this chapter opened, it is probable that she prepared herself for the important occasion in a similar way as did Weetamoo, a female leader of a nearby people, the Pocasset Wampanoags, several months later. Weetamoo placed belts and strings of wampum, as well as necklaces and pendants that probably included metal, stone, and glass or crystal in addition to shell, around her waist, neck, and arms and put

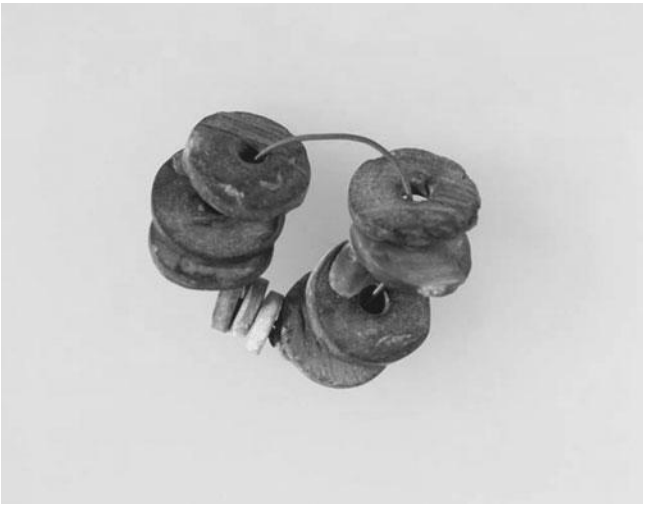

Figure 2.2. Seventeenth-century wampum beads placed as grave goods in a Native interment near what is now Revere Beach, Massachusetts. (President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 78–17–10/14204, digital file 60740371)

"all sorts of Jewels in her ears." Male leaders such as Weetamoo's husband Quinnapin also wore "Girdles *of Wampum*," often on the head and shoulders, and dressed in clothing with glass, shell, and metal embellishments that would shake and jingle as the wearer moved (figure 2.2). Just as Weetamoe had made the belts that covered her "from the Loins upward," much of Awashunkes's adornment was probably of her own manufacture.[41] John Josselyn found this practice of "setting themselves out with white and blew Beads of their own making" to be evidence that "they are very proud," but there was much more at stake than pride in personal appearance.[42]

The patterns of the adornment would have been neither random nor merely attractive, but a means to display and attract further spiritual power.[43] The wampum beads made from the purple and white shells of quahogs and whelks, respectively, had more than monetary value among northeastern Native peoples. Although Natives in southern New England did not use the beads as extensively to record diplomatic meetings and agreements as did their Haudenosaunee and Abenaki neighbors, they still regarded wampum as a substance of concentrated manitou

with great symbolic and spiritual weight.[44] Native women and old men gathered the shellfish from which the different colors of wampum were made, while the gendered nature of finished bead production seems to have shifted over time. As iron implements enabled expanded production of wampum and Haudenosaunee and other inland groups increased their demand over the first half of the seventeenth century, making the finished beads seems to have become something women joined men in doing. The RI-1000 burial ground in Wickford, Rhode Island, contained the implements necessary for bead production and unfinished bead blanks in adult men's and women's graves, whereas at the earlier West Ferry site, dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, only men's graves contained those items.[45] In the early seventeenth century and before, women had already participated in wampum production by creating necklaces and belts of the beads. The addition of carving the beads broadened that participation and added another mode for women's access to the spiritual power held in such objects and in their exchange. Wampum belts were diplomatic relationships made tangible and recorded; their patterning was a kind of "spatialized writing" that reflected a microcosm of Native space, a material representation of generosity and exchange. Women's role in the creation of this physical form of the relationships that defined a community and connections among communities meant that women were intimately involved in the regeneration and recording of the communal body.[46]

Crystal and naturally occurring copper, as well as the cognate forms of European manufacture, glass and smelted copper or brass, were also objects whose light-reflecting properties indicated a high level of manitou.[47] Moreover, the sounds these substances made as they clinked against each other served a purpose in warding off other-than-human persons who might cause disease or other negative events. The significance of the sounds these objects made is suggested by the Wampanoag and Narragansett practice that restricted the interment of bells to the graves of young children. Old enough to be named and recognized by the community but young enough to need special assistance on the path to the afterworld, bells would have jingled more clearly than other items.[48] Awashunkes and other dancers would have felt the weight of those spiritually charged objects and heard them clink as they moved their bodies. The wampum, metal, and glass would have helped her gather herself to travel outside her body, catapulted by their potency and directed by the pounding of her legs and the singing tones from her mouth. Then, in that other-place, she might have learned of the intentions of the

other-than-human persons who formed an essential part of the Saconet community, accessing and marshalling their power to assist her in the decision she faced. Her fellow dancers and others who looked to Awashunkes for leadership in such uncertain times may have looked forward to the feasting from heaped baskets of food that would follow the dancing, and seeing in all the activities the connection among animate beings as well as the opportunity to fill their stomachs.

Although not part of the moment relayed in Benjamin Church's account of Awashunkes's dance, the feasting that would have followed was an integral part of the ritual's efficacy. Women's work was centrally on display in that part of the performance as well. Some of the containers holding the food may have been similar to the ones recovered at several sites throughout southern New England. Castellations that referenced women's genitalia, depicted a woman's head and shoulders with a baby on her back shown on the inside of the pot, or represented maize emphasized women's roles in cultural and social fertility (figure 2.3).[49] The motifs linked women's bodies and their reproductive work to the evidence of their productive work since the contents of those pots and other containers at Awashunkes's dance were also largely the result of women's work. Although June was almost definitely too early for the green corn to have ripened, any corn a community still had in storage would have been brought forth for such a ritual.

Corn had particular spiritual power for Algonquian women in southern New England in similar ways that cassava did for Taínoan and other indigenous women of the Caribbean. Planting, weeding, hilling, harvesting, drying, grinding, and storing corn was labor that they knew was also religious work because their elders had taught them about corn's spiritual importance.[50] Corn and beans were specific gifts from the southwest and creator deity Cautantowwit, granting them a greater spiritual significance than the wild plants that Native women gathered. Patricia Rubertone has argued that women had a higher place in the hierarchy of Narragansett society than Roger Williams knew or acknowledged. According to her analysis of grave goods and oral traditions, women held substantial spiritual power through their connection to and responsibility for corn. The grain was continued proof that Cautantowwit had not abandoned them and so provided spiritual as well as bodily sustenance. The various forms of physical labor involved in caretaking corn was work that had spiritual ramifications, as indicated by the yellow and white bracelets on a few of the female children buried at the seventeenth-century cemetery near North Kingstown, Rhode Island. These bracelets linked the children, whom the

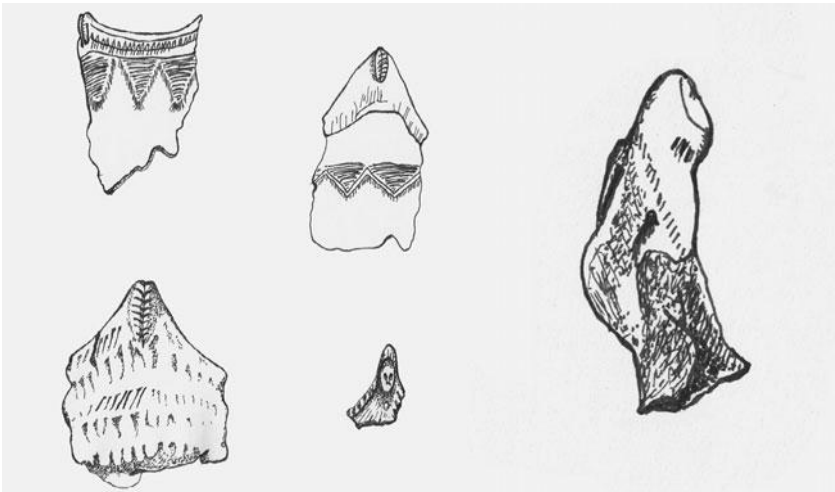

Figure 2.3. Seventeenth-century potsherds excavated from several Native sites across New England incorporate representations of female genitalia and reference to women's reproductive roles of caring for young children. The castellation shaped to resemble a woman's head and shoulders includes, on the inside edge, a baby on her back. These sherds are of Mohegan manufacture from Fort Shantok, Connecticut. (Adapted from Nassaney, "Native American Gender and Material Culture"; Williams, "Fort Shantok and Fort Corchaug"; and Handsman, "Algonquian Women Resist Colonialism." Drawing by Reiko Kopelson.)

community had named and fully recognized, to the work they would have done had they lived.[51] Perhaps they also invoked the protection of Cautantowwit for these individuals by reminding him of his gift to the people that they still honored.

The evidence of women's special connection with corn and thus to a specific access point to manitou extended beyond the foodstuffs consumed at a feast. The inclusion of pestles as women's grave goods honored their everyday practices as they "constantly beat all their corn with hand: they plant it, dresse it, gather it, barne it, beat it, and take as much paines as any people in the world."[52] Women often used stone pestles with wooden mortars or depressions in naturally occurring rocks to grind corn and other seeds into meal before cooking it. By taking worn pestles as well as specifically produced effigy pestles with zoomorphic or anthromorphic designs out of circulation, kin of the deceased acknowledged and reinforced the spiritual import of such work. Effigy pestles, which only appear in periods after contact with Europeans, had

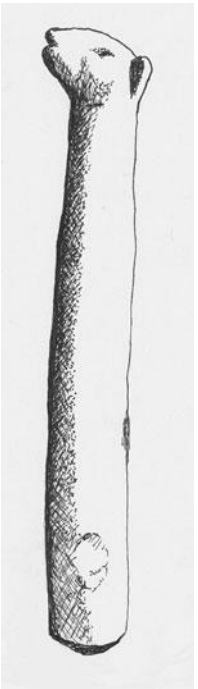

Figure 2.4. Zoomorphic effigy pestle in the form of a bear, a powerful clan symbol, uncovered in the Burr's Hill burial ground, Rhode Island. (Drawing after Susan Gibson, ed. *Burr's Hill: A Seventeenth-Century Wampanoag Burial Ground*. Bristol, Rhode Island, The Haffenreffer Museum, 1980. Drawing by Reiko Kopelson.)

an "obvious association with fertility" through their phallic shape and because they were used to grind seeds. Zoomorphic effigy pestles such as the one recovered from Burr's Hill in Rhode Island depicting a bear gave concrete form to the connections of clan that could span the Native peoples of the Northeast (figure 2.4). In addition, the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures reached out to the manitou of other-than-human persons, including "Squauanit. *The* "*Womans God*" reported by Roger Williams.[53]

Although Williams's and his male informants' limited access to women's activities and spiritual practices meant that *A Key* offered little more discussion on the topic, Matthew Mayhew's account of a powerful Wampanoag powwow on Martha's Vineyard and his wife, "a Godly Woman," may also offer an example of women's and men's access to separate spiritual arenas. The powwow, who was so successful in marshaling manitou in divination rituals that at least one English colonist sought him out for assistance in locating stolen goods, offered "incouragement" to his wife in her "practice and possession of the *Christian Religion,*" which included praying "in the Family" and attending "the *Publick Worship*

on the Lords Dayes." As Mayhew reported his explanation, "he could not blame her, for that she served a God that was above his; but that as to himself, his gods continued kindness, obliged him not to forsake his service." Whether the attribution of the Christian God's greater strength was Mayhew's or the powwow's, the powwow clearly stated that individuals had particular relationships with other-than-human persons.[54] Given the intricacies of human interactions, there is no way to know with certainty which one of the pair initiated the idea that the woman should practice Christianity, whether she did, or if it was her husband who did as an effort "to hedge his bets," as one scholar has put it. Much spiritual power accrued to Algonquian individuals through dreams and visions, or as Mayhew labeled them in his Christian-inflected language, "*immediate Revelation*," so the woman herself probably experienced something that propelled her to the new religion. Moreover, since gender strongly determined other realms of activity, it would make sense for that division to hold when accessing manitou.[55]

"Under a Pretence of Keeping a sort of a Faire"

Narragansetts, Nipmucs, Wampanoags, Pokanokets, and Pocassets did not define the body politic in the same way as did the English, who tied political participation to landholding and sometimes to membership in a specific religious community, but they did see connections between the spiritual and political realms, between a religious community and a political one. After King Philip's War, southern Algonquians in coastal areas did not generally have the leverage to force the English to acknowledge their forms of political organization. The significance of the chieftaincies endured, however, even after Native leaders' primary control over land declined. The creation and affirmation of reciprocal obligations through performances of ritual exchange were central to the continuing importance of Algonquian forms of leadership, as well as to the maintenance of relationships with other-than-human persons.[56]

These gatherings, dances, and festivities helped Natives respond to the significant upheavals of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Death from battle and famine devastated many communities, which were further weakened as refugees sought survival elsewhere. Natives who stayed or returned to southern New England were far from powerless, but often they attempted to work within the English system. In their continuing conflicts with colonists, Indians appealed directly to the king as his subjects when they could not find satisfaction from

colonial governments. The English were largely inclined to make fewer distinctions among tribes and tended to see all Indians as enemies, actual or potential. Narragansetts, who stayed out of the first stages of King Philip's War, suffered the effects of this generalizing mentality when English militia surrounded a winter camp near South Kingstown, Rhode Island, and killed hundreds of people, including noncombatants, in what soon became known as the Great Swamp Massacre. Refugee flight and English-controlled resettlement of Natives meant that Narragansetts had few Native allies close at hand on whom to rely. Inland and farther to the northeast, eastern Abenakis and Haudenosaunee continued to determine many of the terms of interaction with Europeans.[57]

After King Philip's War, Native people had to find new ways to maintain their identities as particular peoples and communities in a southern New England where the English increasingly controlled land. For many, strategies for subsistence involved greater interaction with English colonists, whether through factors who held financial interest in whale hunting from Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket; labor either in or around English households; tending English-owned livestock; or weaving baskets, cane chair seats, and brooms. Especially in Narragansett country, indentured servitude came to be inherited in many families. Parents enmeshed in debt relationships pledged their children's labor as well, or town officials pledged it for them. In addition to the captives the English made slaves as a result of King Philip's War, the English continued to enslave growing numbers of Narragansetts, Pequots, and some Wampanoags during the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, despite laws prohibiting such action.[58] Many generations of Indians had to find employment in white households, even in communities that were able to maintain more autonomy such as the Aquinnah Wampanoags. But that employment did not prevent Wampanoags and other Indians in southern New England from maintaining oral histories of their people's origins and culture heroes. For instance, at the beginning of the twentieth century, despite the fact that many lived in white households, Gay Head children continued to learn accounts of Maushop, a giant who had created parts of the physical landscape.[59] The emphasis among most Natives and scholars today is that creative adaptations of techniques do not necessarily signal assimilation or loss of culture, but rather resiliency.[60]

Even in the altered landscape after King Philip's War, Natives continued to hold dances and feasts, performing the community actions that maintained the network of relations with each other and with the

other-than-human persons who populated the places around them. These occasions continued to be both individually motivated and seasonal. In 1690, Samuel Sewall recorded an event relayed to him by an unnamed individual "At N[arra]ganset (formely ye chief place of Indians in N E)." That informant told him "an account [of] a Dance held by a great woman who had met with many Adversities in [the] Loss of near Relations &c." The woman called for "persons far [& near]" and made "Considerable Provision . . . for Entertainment of the[m a]f[ter] their fashion." She recounted her experiences to those who had gathered, making "several Speeches to them importing her former Calamity, and hopes of future Prosperity." To confirm the desires of her hopeful words, attempt to garner manitou and the attention of powerful other-than-human persons, and initiate another stage in the continuous cycle of destruction and regeneration, she "now and then danc'd a considerable time, gave many Gifts, and had a new Name given to herself."[61] Her ability to provide "Considerable . . . Entertainment" for those who gathered was a demonstration of her control over material resources. It also obliged her guests to reciprocate in some way. Both of these aspects confirmed and strengthened her position as a "great woman" within her own tribe (the English recognized her leadership position only tangentially) who might yet be able to overcome her recent "Adversities." Taking a new name to commemorate the new person she had become, she would have based her "hopes of future Prosperity" on the relationships initiated and renewed by her dancing and her gifting.

In the more constricted arena that developed after King Philip's War, seasonal rituals continued to be significant and required additional defending against colonial officials who feared such gatherings as "Prejedicall" to social order. In 1726, South Kingstown town officials objected to a gathering of "Indians and Negro's Servants and Others" who met "the Third Weak in June Annually In This Town Under a Pretence of Keeping a sort of a Faire." Justices could sentence "any Indian or Negro" who met "under this pretence" with up to twenty lashes. The timing as well as the meeting's acknowledgment that it "hath been A Custom for severall Years Past" suggests that it could well have been Keesakùnnamun, rather than "a special local festival," as suggested by one historian.[62] The record of the repressive act also indicates the changing composition of Narrangansett and other Algonquian tribes in the early eighteenth century. Many men of African descent had married into these groups whose male populations had been decimated by war and whaling.[63] Narragansetts near South Kingstown were not the only ones

to continue to perform an embodiment of community that defined the corporate body through physical connection and movement. Mohegans in nearby New London asserted their right to choose their own leader when they held what colonial observers called a "black dance" in September 1736.[64]

In addition to the continuation of ritual dances and feasts, other kinds of bodily performance developed in response to English colonists' demands on Native lands and communities. Attention to the "ritualized legal performances" of Wampanoag sachem Wunnatuckquannum as encoded in Native-to-Native land deeds between 1683 and 1700 recasts a staple of the colonial archive as a playbill that details the connections between a leader and the people who constituted a sachemship as well as the leader's actions to nourish and maintain that corporate body. Wunnatuckquannum embodied the sachemship as she conducted a ritual bargaining and transmission of land within the Nunepog community. The Massachusett words recorded in the first 1683 deed, "I Wunnatuckquannum have bargained with David Oakes," were meant as a prompt to more specific recall of the details of the agreement. The signature line of the deed also recorded words spoken as part of a ritual performance: "I Wunnatuckquannum, witness; my hand (X)." Other documents from the same period echoed this Massachussett form "Neen Wunnatuckquannum." Wunnatuckquannum's construction of her body as the conduit for the manitou expressed in such rituals conveying land was even more apparent in the 1686 deed. The signature line of that document, "I am Wunnatuckquannum, this is my hand (X)," linked the sachem's hand to her person and to the larger community.[65]

Even as the performance was collective, it demonstrated a hierarchy of body and bodies: the group had to reach consensus on the land sale, but it was the sachem who conveyed the land. Wunnatuckquannum's actions linked her body to a specific place, at the same time that her body was the connection between the written encoding of a performance and the oral performance itself. The significance of performance surrounding written documents was something that the English also understood, and Wunnatuckquannum's final surviving deed shows the imprint of her adoption of the English rite of pressing a seal into hot wax as an affirmation of the document's authenticity and authority.[66] The original ritual that conveyed the land from Wunnatuckquannum to David Oakes required assembling additional community members who were witnesses as well as participants. Some of those gathered had the responsibility to remember the details of the transaction for later recall. It was

not only Wunnatuckquannum's body that encompassed the sachemship, but the physical presence of her people that confirmed her power.[67] Their bodies became the archive that housed the record of the sachem's power as expressed in the land transfer.

Southern Algonquian senses of place remained, sometimes a substratum under a Euroamerican dusting of topsoil, and often an active shaping of landscape and locality that denied the erasure attempted by whites, especially nineteenth-century historians and those who used their accounts as evidence of the vanishing of Indians.[68] Individuals and communities continued to assert their presence and ongoing interactions with each other, with their physical surroundings, and with the other-than-human persons who populated Native space. Poignant evidence of this continued interaction and re-creation of Native space exists in the charcoal and other objects Narragansetts buried at earlier gravesites in ceremonies of remembrance and communication long after they no longer lived in close proximity. In their journeys and visits, they interacted with the dead and reinscribed the land—although in ways undetectable to colonists like Roger Williams or others who came after him—with their own definitions of faithful bodies.[69]

Nickómmo, and other feasts and dances were not the only aspect of Algonquian means to access the power of other-than-human persons, who were often sought on an individual basis, but the community events were especially significant in times of crisis. While the specifics of dancing and feasting rituals differed from culture to culture as well as having multiple variations for different purposes, together they provide grounded examples of the broad ways that the indigenous peoples of New England thought about their bodies in relation to the corporate body of the community. The movements of legs and feet, the sounds of voice and embellished clothing, and the redistribution or destruction of goods reaffirmed or created bonds among the participants, connections that could be strongly hierarchical. Whether a leader called an event to respond to a crisis or to follow a more calendrically based ritual, their actions distinguished them from common participants. Religious specialists might distinguish themselves by dancing in particular ways while the sponsors of a feast often held themselves apart from much of the feasting.[70] These events also provided the means for connections among communities, as individuals sometimes traveled to participate in a feast and dance held some distance away. Communal and relational did not mean equal or egalitarian—those with the power to command resources had to share their bounty, but those without were bound to

accept it and express gratitude. The nickómmo and other meals of the common pot accentuated and reinforced the relational (and sometimes coercive) acts of giving and receiving.

The next chapter explores this question of the tension between equality and hierarchy of performing bodies in an overlapping context: English puritan iterations of the community body evoked in Williams's statement that Narragansetts "make their neighbors partakers with them." Partaking together lay at the heart of what it meant to be a Christian and the central ritual of communion, a common meal of bread and wine reaffirming the shared body of Christ. The meaning and significance of that common meal for the corporate body of the community of the faithful was the contested heart of puritan ideas about and enactments of faithful bodies.

3 / "Ye are of one Body and members one of another"

The metaphor of the body of Christ organized community life as a diagram for how Christians should live together. Passages throughout the New Testament referred to the church as Christ's body and Christians as members of that body, while the central ritual revolved around consuming the body and blood of Christ as—depending on one's theological emphasis—memorialized by or simultaneously present in the bread and wine of a meal that remembered or reenacted Christ's last supper with his disciples.[1] Body metaphors were ubiquitous and a point of common reference because the universal experience of being embodied grounded the relationship between the physical, human body and collective spiritual and social bodies. Yet that universality contained a nearly infinite multiplicity of individual experiences that made definitions of the body in general, and faithful bodies in particular, nodes of conflict. Exactly how corporate social and spiritual bodies should function and who should belong to them was a matter of much disagreement.

Christians of various kinds applied the terminology of the physical or "natural" body to the community of the faithful in their efforts to confront the difficulty of how to unify disparate parts into a harmonious whole.[2] In "A Modell of Christian Charity," an address John Winthrop delivered in 1630 with the hope that it would serve as a guide for the community to be founded in New England, Winthrop detailed how the disparate parts of a body might hold together: "The severall partes of this body . . . before they were united were as disproportionate and as much disordering as soe many contrary quallities or elements," but after Christ "by his spirit and

love knitts all these partes to himselfe and each to other," they changed in nature. Christ's love brought bodily changes: the assemblage of parts that formed a disproportionate body became "the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world."[3] In 1704, a group of elderly ministers who had refused to conform to Church of England rituals quoted part of Romans in a book-length letter to younger generations of dissenters: "Ye are of one Body and Members one of another: Wherefore like the Members of the Natural Body, ye must have a mutual Care, and be ready to help and serve each other in Love."[4] For Cotton Mather, the different members of the body of Christ had to "study to be *Serviceable* unto the people of God" who were "*The Mystical Body of Christ*" or they would be "worse than silver *Hands*, or wooden *Legs*, in that *Body*." Failing to assist other members of the mystical body, which was more expansive than the local gathering of the godly, would make them of less help than lifeless prosthetics, poor substitutes for the living extremities.[5] But recognizing that "Natural Body" and even those "wooden *Legs*" was not so simple as the comparison intimated. Unlike recognizing the limbs of one's own body, it was not easy to determine who belonged and who did not. Defining the true body of Christ was a tricky business for Protestants dissenting from the Church of England. Draw the outline too close, and one might be succumbing to the sin of thinking that mere human reason was enough to determine whom the Christian God had saved. Expand it too broadly, and one might be eternally damaged by the spiritual corruption and disease spread by the irrepentable sin of others.

It was a complicated matter to determine who was called and united to Christ in the one body of the church, especially in the face of alternate understandings of the workings of spiritual power. English migration to Native homelands and to Bermuda introduced practices of making community that competed for space alongside southern Algonquian, West Central African, Haudenosaunee, indigenous Caribbean, and French configurations, among others. These groups shared the basic human experience of embodiment, but each group—and, indeed, each individual—made particular sense of that experience, making the body and body metaphors a productive vehicle for gaining access to multiple and often competing perspectives.[6] While the English drew understanding from their physical bodies as much as did anyone else, they operated according to their own particular logics of the body and body-as-community. This chapter examines key ways that those on the puritan spectrum used bodily knowledge to organize their spiritual and political lives and to define the properly faithful body.

As did other seventeenth-century peoples, English puritans understood the material and spiritual to be inextricably enmeshed. They too could find possibilities for spiritual meaning in everyday substances such as wheat and activities such as baking bread. The performance of the ritual meal of the Lord's Supper displayed the conflict between hierarchy and equality both in its material and social contexts. The women who prepared the communion bread may not have been permitted to participate in its ritual consumption, and even among those admitted to the meal, customs governing distribution encoded many ranks of social status. Shifts in the relationship between the collectives of the body of Christ and the body politic were embedded in changes in agricultural production, family structures, and imperial law as well as in theological debates and synods of ministers and lay leaders. Puritans turned to their physical or "natural" bodies to guide their understanding of how boundaries between different types of more expansive bodies were meant to function, how parts should relate to the whole, and how to recognize a diseased or polluted body politic or body of Christ. Untangling these multiple meanings of the body of Christ for seventeenth-century English puritans in southern New England and Bermuda highlights the inherent conflict over the proper configuration of the one and the many, and of the balance between hierarchy and equality. They ultimately resolved this conflict by disconnecting the body politic and the body of Christ, even as they defined Indians and Africans as excluded from the former and at best an inferior and contingent part of the latter.

"Till all have eaten"

The puritan practice of the Lord's Supper contained countervailing elements of equality and hierarchy as did the nickómmo and other feastings of the common pot, the ritual events examined in the previous chapter. In the Narragansett nickómmo, elites controlled the redistribution of resources by giving away goods and food. Puritan performances of the Lord's Supper commemorated and enacted God's gift of grace to a fraction of humanity. Those who had not made a public declaration of how the divine had touched their souls could not partake. They were dismissed from the service so that their presence might not compromise the constitution of the body of Christ. While not all participants in the Lord's Supper might be actual recipients of God's grace, they hoped they were. And among recipients of that gift, there were no degrees of salvation. Members of this invisible church of the saved were equal to one another in salvation.

In the human institution of the visible church, however, rules and customs governing all services expressed many gradations of social status. The practice of assigning seats to members of congregations according to complicated and finely articulated degrees of social rank was a spatial manifestation of the incongruity between the visible and invisible corporate bodies. In its privileging of military rank, age, property, and familial ties but not an individual's admission to the Lord's Supper, "seating the congregation" produced a physical expression of the body politic in the organization of the gathered body of Christ. It served as a constant reminder of the tensions between human understandings of the body politic and what was meant to be the divinely infused corporate body. The seats adjacent to the pulpit were the most desirable, reserved for magistrates and other civil dignitaries, while those distant or with views obstructed by columns or stairwells were the least desirable, set aside for English children over the age of thirteen, Natives, Africans, and English servants. Men and women sat separately and men probably predominated; on any given sabbath celebration, many women who lived in the community would have been absent since nursing mothers rarely attended church. Peter Benes has estimated that half of the residents attended an average service.[7]

Puritan ministers expended much ink and time on individual preparation for the Lord's Supper and on the theology of the sacrament, particularly in terms of the relationship between the bread and wine of the meal and divine action or presence, but their words are not the only basis for investigating puritan theologies of the body.[8] In puritan inflections of this experientially central ritual, the actions of passing the bread and wine to one another and their corporate consumption were what created sacred space, not any physical transformation in the substances used.[9] As scholars of material religion have pointed out, puritans' performance of ritual and their use of material objects reveals that the feeling, sounding, looking, and tasting of physical bodies moving through corporeal space created as well as reflected spiritual knowledge. While the objects were not sacred in and of themselves, the emphasis on performances using them meant that they served as a conduit for devotions and taught puritans how to perceive and interact with the divine.[10] We can use these embodied, object-centered experiences to look over the shoulders of those thousands of English individuals who did not leave much of an individual imprint on the written record in order to discern the many-layered process of place-making and the creation of corporate bodies of the faithful. At the same time that the communion vessels

and the bread and wine they served were meant to direct participants to the overwhelming action of divine salvation, they also enacted human-made hierarchy through variations of practice in the distribution and consumption of the meal.

Much of this hierarchy of the table had been inherited from English society prior to the development of a puritan movement. Those with the highest rank ate first and took the best available option. Hosts had to provide food for all, including the poor, but it did not have to be of the same quality. Eating the same food was a mark of at least temporarily sharing the same rank, which is why during the early months of the faltering Jamestown colony yeoman John Smith bristled when Edward Wingfield, a minor noble, refused to eat from the literal "common kettle" of worm-infested grain ingested by the other council members. Another early English colony, Plymouth, attempted to mandate a common kettle among all inhabitants, cultivating and preparing food communally rather than familially. Even though many were dedicated to the idea of establishing a society based on being members of one body, they objected to the erasure of deeply established modes of labor distribution and quickly returned to household-based production.[11]

While the bread served as part of the Lord's Supper was the same for all, participants found other ways to express hierarchy. One of the more detailed accounts of the conduct of the meal, while written by someone unsympathetic to puritan practice, corroborates with a prescriptive explanation of church practice by the unmistakably puritan John Cotton. As described by the lawyer Thomas Lechford, whose shift from dissenting to conforming beliefs about the scriptural warrant for bishops kept him barred from the ritual meal in New England, the first step was for those not partaking to leave the meetinghouse. Then "the Ministers and ruling Elders sitting at the Table, the rest" sitting "in their seats, or upon forms," a type of backless bench, a "Teaching Elder" blessed and consecrated the bread. Depending on the size and configuration of the church, the table at which the minister and deacons sat might have been a relatively small hinged surface attached to the seating for the deacons or the front of the pulpit, or a larger freestanding one that strongly resembled its strictly domestic counterparts. After the prayer, "the ministers deliver the Bread in a Charger to some of the chiefe, and peradventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands, and they deliver the charger from one to another, till all have eaten." The same process was repeated "in like manner" with the wine: "the cup, till all have dranke, goes from one to another." John Cotton specified that after the minister partook of the

bread and passed it to "all that sit at Table with him," he remained "sitting in his place at the Table" while the deacons distributed it to the rest of the congregation. Cotton explained that the sitting posture denoted the communicants' status as "co-sessors with [Christ] at the last Judgement."[12] A guide to liturgy followed in early Bermuda similarly noted, "The people shall communicate in order, and that sitting, as is most conformable to the first institution," although it also allowed for standing "as is accustomed in some places."[13]

The deacon gave bread and wine to those of highest social rank first, an acknowledgment of worldly status underscored by their selection from a variety of cups, beakers, and tankards whose differing types indicated varying levels of rank. These congregations echoed their greater focus on the differentiation of spiritual roles with an emphasis on social standing in this world. Samuel Sewall recorded the "humiliation" of one particular Lord's Supper in 1724 when "Deacon Checkly Deliver'd the Cup first to Madam Winthrop, and then gave me the tankard." Scholars have interpreted the emotions that "put [Sewall] to the Blush" as coming both from such a spiritual intimacy with Katherine Brattle Winthrop, a woman who had spurned his courtship, and from the social snub communicated in the humbler form of the tankard. Sewall's gift of a silver tankard bearing his coat of arms to that church, the Old South Church in Boston, may have indicated that the incident rankled him to his death, but it may also have been Sewall's reminder to himself and to others to focus on Christ and salvation rather than objects and people of the material world. A more highly valued form—like a vessel made of silver rather than pewter or wood—was not theologically necessary, but it expressed the tastes and practices of spiritual refinement as it aided in the development and acquisition of those very tastes and practices.[14]

Another style of distributing the Lord's Supper that was widespread in New England emphasized connection among the participants rather than giving such a prominent role to leading laity. Instead of deacons approaching each individual with assorted vessels, communicants handed the bread and wine to each other in matching sets. Passing the bread and wine among the participants emphasized the equality of all who sat at the Lord's Table and the sacrality of their connections with one another. A French engraving of the Lord's Supper as celebrated by Dutch Baptists—who differed in baptismal but not communion practice—illustrates this style of distribution (figure 3.1). In the engraving, seated communicants pass bread and wine to each other in sets of matching vessels, a visual, perceptual, and experiential emphasis on similarity among

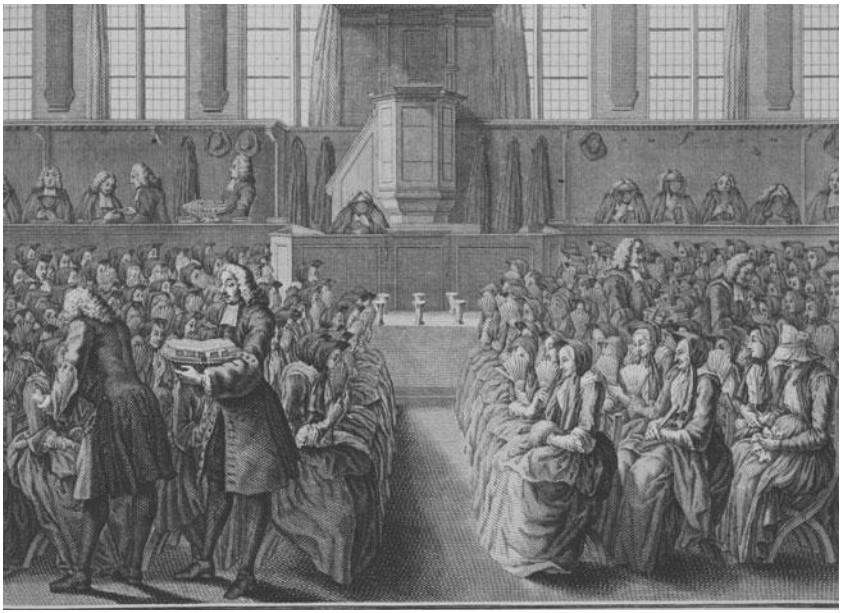

Figure 3.1. This early eighteenth-century French engraving of a Baptist celebration of the Lord's Supper shows the matched vessels used to distribute the wine in a more egalitarian manner. *La Cene des Anabaptistes*, Jean Frederic Bernard, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, illus. Bernard Picart, vol. 4 (Amsterdam, 1736), after p. 208. For a scholarly digitized edition, see http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/picart/.

participants.[15] These matching sets survive in New England in greater number from the early eighteenth century, primarily among churches that maintained a narrow definition of admission to the ritual meal. With stricter terms of admission came fewer participants and less of a need to distinguish socially among them. Conversely, a more inclusive definition of the body of Christ and who might participate in the Lord's Supper usually meant the expression of more social hierarchy in its administration.[16]

Although information on seventeenth-century practice in Bermudian churches is scarcer than for their New England counterparts, surviving church silver suggests that a range of practice also existed on the island. The seventeenth-century vessels that remain in the church in St. George's today are similar to the ones William and Mary presented to King's Chapel in Boston in 1694. The Bermudian 1697/8 "King's Set," which is engraved with the arms and cypher of William III, contains

Figure 3.2. St. George's Chalice and cover engraved with the *Sea Venture* striking a rock in full sail, flying the banner of St. George, and with the Rose and Crown on the transom. (Courtesy of St. Peter's Church, Their Majesties' Chappell, Bermuda. Photograph by Ann Spurling.)

a chalice with cover, a paten, two flagons, a basin, and a spoon. It is not clear when St. George's acquired the chalice and cover, hallmarked 1625/6, that are engraved with the *Sea Venture* striking a rock in full sail, flying the banner of St. George, and with the Rose and Crown on the transom (figure 3.2).[17] The explicitly ecclesiastical chalice and the existence of a cross in depiction of the ship's pennants may seem to belie any puritan leanings. However, they do not necessarily indicate conformity to the Church of England practices.

The disputes over the validity of a presbyterian structure—whether there was any spiritual authority between each individual congregation and God—did not have direct bearing on celebrations of the Lord's Supper or on most ministers' refusal to use the prescribed Church of England liturgy. In addition to the stated preferences of ministers and the expulsion of many of them from positions in England, the location of the pulpit in many Bermudian churches was similar to its placement in New England meetinghouse architecture. It was across from the main entrance, emphasizing the centrality of preaching.[18] There are also surviving Bermudian vessels more squarely in the puritan vein. In his 1654 will, Roger Wood bequeathed a beaker engraved with his name to Devonshire Church. Already in use when Wood died, the beaker would have

Figure 3.3. John Hull beaker, ca. 1659, 3⅞". Made for First Church, Boston. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

blended into any number of New England churches' collections of silver (figure 3.3 and figure 3.4).[19]

Corn, Cassava, and the "Purest Wheate in Heaven"

No matter how refined the metal, whether inscribed or not, the purpose of silver communion vessels was to be symbolic "bearers of Christ," conveyances for the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper.[20] Variances in that physical food and drink, *what* was served at the ritual meal, echoed the variances in *how* the ritual meal was served. The scope for refinement was especially noticeable in the bread, a food that was a daily part—if not the majority—of the early modern English diet. In a meditation on the Lord's Supper centered on the idea of Jesus Christ as the "living bread," the minister Edward Taylor likened Christ to "The Purest Wheate in Heaven."[21] In addition to this scriptural basis, Taylor's association between bread and

Figure 3.4. Roger Wood beaker, bequeathed 1654, Devonshire Christ Church, Bermuda. The floral design links the beaker to its domestic counterparts. (Courtesy of Anglican Christ Church, Bermuda. Photograph by alugophoto.)

the specific grain of wheat drew on long-standing precedents in European culture stretching far before the emergence of Christianity to ancient Greece and Rome. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain, wheat was very much an aspirational grain tied to socioeconomic status. Only elite Europeans—one plausible estimate is around 4 percent of the population—ate white bread, the most esteemed of all wheaten bread types, but many more wanted to do so. For New English puritans there was also a regional and ethnic factor in this culinary order favoring wheat. Most of them came from the southern lowlands of England and looked down on the unleavened oat cakes favored in Wales, Scotland, and north and west England. By the early seventeenth century, the preference for wheat as the

grain of choice meant that even the poor demanded grain rations that were four-fifths wheat.[22]

However, wheat was harder to come by in the Americas than it had become in England. Christ might have been the "*Living Bread*" made of "the Purest Wheate in Heaven" and the theologian Thomas Aquinas have specified the "proper matter" of the ritual meal to be "wheaten bread," but inhabitants of and visitors to the Americas had to make most of their earthly bread from other grains and tubers.[23] The most common throughout much of the Americas was maize, or, as the English termed it, "Indian corn." As wheat figured in Greek origins, maize featured in the origin histories of many indigenous peoples throughout the regions of the Americas where it grew well.[24] The most common grain by far in New England was maize, followed by the colonist-introduced rye, barley, and oats. Long after English colonists learned successful cultivation techniques for the environment, wheat remained highly desired yet difficult to obtain because a disease that took hold in the 1660s kept the grain scarce, a scarcity that continued through the end of the eighteenth century. One study of Middlesex County in Massachusetts found that by the end of the 1660s fewer than a quarter of estates included wheat, a precipitous drop from the one-half that had included them at the beginning of the decade.[25] Wheat did not do well in Bermuda either; the staple carbohydrate in the subtropical island was the subterranean cassava or manioc root rather than maize. The island's humid and storm-prone climate meant that, as minister Lewis Hughes pointed out, maize "is subject to blasting, and to the wormes, so is not the Casava."[26]

Puritans celebrated wheat, but they did not see it as a necessary component of the bread for the Lord's Supper. In contrast to a Jesuit missionary to the Wendats (Hurons) who complained of the mission's "deprivation of every human assistance"—a deficit that included the wheat that was "absolutely indispensable for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass"—or to Spanish clergy and conquistadors accompanying Hernando de Soto into Florida who concluded that since "the Holy Roman Church" decreed "that bread must be of wheat," they could not "consecrate bread made of corn" even after having lost their precious store of wheat during battle, puritans displayed a more forgiving palate. Not only did they have the advantage of learning from Spanish accounts of colonization and descriptions of the Americas, many of which praised maize and cassava as nutritious and wholesome food, their brand of Christian theology placed less emphasis on the material substance of the bread used in the Lord's Supper. While they worried about how ingesting these foods that figured so heavily in

Native diets would affect their own bodies, they were not more concerned about its consumption during the ritual meal than at other times.[27]

Even so discriminating a minister as Samuel Parris, who kept such close boundaries on the ritual that he exacerbated divisions in his Salem Village congregation made famous in studies of the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692, listed a range of grains—"Corn, barley, Rye, Wheat &c"—that could be made into "corporal bread" for the Lord's Supper. The substance to be ingested was of little enough import that even whatever "nourishing & usual food, which is of use in the stead of bread" would do when bread itself was not available. This principled lack of interest in exactly what was physically consumed during the ritual meal was a reaction against the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation in which the substance of the bread and wine became the substance of Christ's real body and blood during the consecrating prayer. Parris did not extend his inclusive attitude to the "bold Papist" practice of baking special wafers "of Oyle, honey, and I know not what" because, in his view, using such bread distinguishable from its domestic counterpart separated the ritual from its origins as a meal. Since, in Parris's experience, everyday bread to nourish the physical body was not made with oil or honey, then neither should bread for the Lord's Supper contain those things.[28]

Taking part in the ritual involved bodily sensations that were not quite everyday and were separated from the daily round of activities. Participants in the Lord's Supper in New England would have marked the ease with which they chewed a bite of wheat bread during the ritual meal compared to the effort it took to break down bread from more commonly available grains. The common mix of corn and rye flour produced a bread with a crust that was sturdy enough to use instead of a spoon for the semi-liquid stews, sauces, and porridges that made up most of the seventeenth-century English diet. This difference in texture reinforced the Lord's Supper as a special action apart from the daily need to put food in the stomach. Edward Taylor would have had personal experience of the lighter texture and density of bread and pie crust made from wheat flour compared to that made from other grains such as maize, rye, and oats to inform his description of Christ as "Gods White Loafe" of "Heavens Sugar Cake." Even as Lewis Hughes praised cassava as evidence of God's goodness to English colonists in Bermuda, wheat remained Hughes's point of reference: what recommended the cassava flour was that it produced "as fine, white bread as can be made from Wheat."[29] Wheat might not have been theologically essential to the Lord's Supper, but, like the silver on which it was served, it remained a

cultural touchstone that constituted material and spiritual refinement.[30] The English practice of using it when available for communion bread reinforced bodily knowledge of the ritual as a time and space set apart from the ordinary and made sacred.

"As many Grains make but one Loaf of Bread"

The silver vessels used in puritan performances of the Lord's Supper helped individuals to create spiritual practice and to access the divine, but as vehicles of conveyance they also direct our attention to the substances they carried. Those substances, particularly the widely produced bread, similarly functioned as a means to attain faith. Although more plentiful than hard metal, wheat bread was scarce enough that in addition to remaining linked to a familiar social hierarchy, it took on the added spiritual significance of refinement. If we expand our understanding of participation in the Lord's Supper to those who baked the bread, the shape of the possibilities for spiritual practice in ostensibly mundane tasks become visible in a way they were not with a more restricted definition. In the repetitive actions of baking bread, women who were not admitted to the ritual meal or who were not able to attend services because they had nursing infants at home may have found an alternate way to engage the unseen world.

We do not know the name of the woman who baked the bread for the Lord's Supper, what she wore, or anything specific about her status. In southern New England, she could have been a hired white servant or unmarried female relative in a lay leader's household or mistress of that household; an indentured Massachusett, Wampangoag, or Narragansett woman; or possibly one of the several hundred enslaved Africans. In Bermuda, she might have been an enslaved Bermudian of color, a white Bermudian widow, or a hired white servant. Just as Lewis Hughes erased women's labor in his directions for cassava preparation that he included in his printed celebration of the smiling of divine providence on English colonization of Bermuda, so, too, puritan accounts of the Lord's Supper—already spare in detail on the physical ritual—failed to consider the individual who had kneaded, shaped, and baked the bread passed around during the sacred meal. Nor did any description of women baking bread appear frequently in other sermons, which were more likely to turn to husbandry and its association with the imperialist mission of "improving" and thus taking possession of the land with English agricultural techniques.[31] Contemplating her perspective offers a means to

explore more fully the idealized interactions between human and divine as well as the opportunities for spiritual practice in everyday activity.

While ministers were fully aware of their embodiment as physical beings, they were not the ones responsible for procuring the bread and wine.[32] Instead, that task fell to deacons, lay leaders recognized by the congregation, whose charge was to "assist and relieve the *Pastors*, in all the *Temporal Affairs* of the Church." In practical terms, that meant that a woman in a deacon's household was responsible for baking the bread on each occasion when there was to be a ritual meal among the gathered faithful. Whoever baked the bread may or may not have been allowed to eat that bread during the Lord's Supper—since church practice did not require deacons' wives to be full church members, it is doubtful the person baking the bread would have been required to hold that status.[33] A similar practice seems to have been followed in Bermuda. Early eighteenth-century Bermudian church accounts indicate that women were paid to wash the linens and scour the silver vessels used in church services. They also list expenditures for bread and wine, which suggests that the bread was not made in the minister's household.[34]

Baking bread involved a series of labor-intensive steps. In the first thirteen years of Plymouth colony before the first gristmill was built in 1633, the task began with grinding corn in a wood mortar to separate the "Meale" from the "huskes." In communities with gristmills, the woman would not have had to use a mortar and pestle to get cornmeal, but she might have had to churn butter, make cheese, or spin thread in order to have a way to trade with the miller for grinding her sacks of corn and other grains.[35] Whether hand- or stone-ground, the meal still contained larger pieces that, if baked without further processing, would remain hard and result in an unevenly textured bread. The woman would have sifted out the finer meal and set it aside while she boiled the "Course parte . . . till it be thick like batter," let it cool, then mixed in the finer meal. For everyday bread, the woman might have poured the cornmeal batter as it was into an iron pot and then placed it over a fire to bake.[36]

For something as special as the ritual meal of the Lord's Supper, the woman probably mixed in some wheat flour when available, along with some yeast "to make it Rise" and form an airier loaf. Throughout the initial mixing, rounds of kneading, shaping, and as she waited for the bread to proof in its loaf form, she would have maintained a fire in the oven built into the back of her kitchen fireplace, distributing the coals to attain as even a temperature as possible (figure 3.5). Once she determined by the feel of the heat on her hand that the oven had reached the

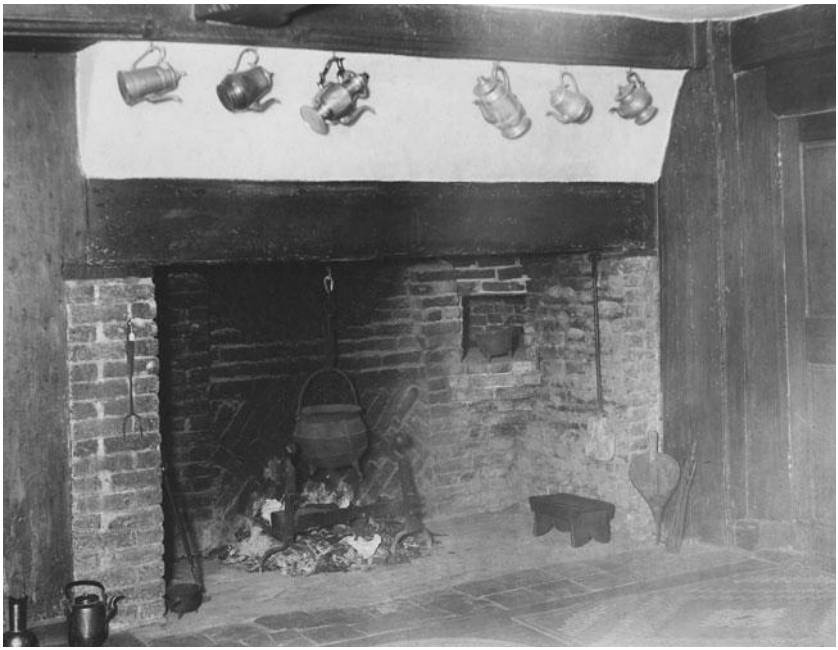

Figure 3.5. In the second half of the seventeenth century, most ovens in colonial houses in New England were built into the back of the fireplace instead of outside the house. Note the recessed oven in the back of the fireplace. Fireplace, Cooper-Frost-Austin House, Cambridge, Mass. Gift of William Sumner Appleton. (Courtesy of Historic New England)

desired temperature, she would have removed the coals and slid in the unbaked loaves. Although not all houses had ovens, the woman selected to bake communion bread likely lived in a house with one.[37] If she were making the bread from wheat flour, as she sank the heel of her hand into the dough and pushed against its elasticity, she may have seen her own tendency to return to sin in the way the dough slowly shrank back in on itself. The less springy consistency of dough made primarily from other grains could have inspired thoughts of her own obdurate will in the face of divine intention.

Preparing bread from cassava flour as was common in Bermuda involved somewhat different steps. As more fully discussed in chapter 1, the poisonous juice had to be removed to make the tuber edible. The woman baking the bread may have done that work herself before mixing the flour with a little water to make a paste-like dough, then cooking it

on a flat griddle or in a pan. Unlike wheat, rye, or barley, cassava contains no gluten and so produces a dense, moist bread with little crumb or crust. The woman would have had to take care to press the paste to keep it together during initial phases of cooking as its lack of elasticity made it prone to breaking.[38] Rather than inspiring thoughts of rebounding to sinful behavior, the bread's tendency to crack during cooking may have directed the woman's thoughts to the brokenness of the world.

The woman may have felt that her work creating the bread that bound the members of the community together in the ritual meal commemorating the last meal between Christ and his disciples was a conduit to the divine. If she ascribed to the idea that one's outward actions were a reflection of one's inward state, the hard labor and discipline required to produce an edible loaf could have provided her a means to access the world of the unseen and have given mundane actions spiritual resonance. As she recalled the strain in her muscles from wielding mortar and pestle or churning milk into butter to barter for access to the gristmill, she may have thought of the pain of sin or the effort of breaking down her self-will to prepare the soul for receiving God's grace. Even if she herself were not the one performing those tasks, as the mistress she may have seen servants' or slaves' work as contributing to the godly industriousness of her household.[39]

Perhaps she was a full church member who had given an oral testimony of her faith in front of the congregation and so she would be partaking of the bread, receiving it from a neighbor's hands and passing the dish on to the next person. Or the woman who sweated as she tended the cooking fire—watching until the embers were of the correct and relatively uniform heat to bake the bread before the dough rose too much and collapsed on itself—might not have made a public declaration and detailing of her conversion process and so would not get to eat bread and drink wine at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, although she faithfully attended services when her household duties permitted. And if she were Massachusett, or Wampanoag, or Narragansett, or Nipmuc, and did not ascribe to the Christian pantheon, the action of baking bread for the puritan ritual may have had no more significance for her than any other task she was required to do. Every rebound of a dough with a significant percentage of wheat flour may have reminded the woman of the incursions into her people's lands, even if the English never exacted tribute payments of wheat from southern Algonquians the way the Spanish exacted them from the Aztecs.[40] Conversely, working with maize—even in this English-directed product—could have been a reminder of the long-ago gift from Cautantowwit or Kiehtan.

Of course, whoever she was and whatever categories she fell into, she may have contemplated nothing more than the labor extracted from her. The Lord's Supper was generally celebrated in puritan churches once a month, and she may just have been glad that the ritual did not occur more frequently. Her perspective on the question of admission to the Lord's Supper could well have been that she was glad it was restricted to a smaller group than those who attended services every week, since fewer participants meant fewer loaves of bread to bake.

Puritan ministers referred to this arduous process in a shorthand meant to illustrate the scriptural concept of many joining together as one. John Cotton emphasized the creation of one body from many that occurred during the communal celebration of the Lord's Supper with the imagery of "many *Grains* mak[ing] but one *Loaf* of *Bread*." Lewis Hughes used the same concept in the short catechism that he published along with his celebratory account of Bermuda: "As the Bread is made of many graines, so joyned together, as they all make but one Loafe, . . . so the true beleevers being many, are so united in Christ, as they all make but one Christ."[41]

Other examples make clear that on the few occasions ministers did mention the specific tasks involved in baking bread, the actions were metaphors for the ways that the divine shaped the soul and the essential sufficiency of Christ, rather than an occasion to think about the physical performance of grinding grain, hauling water, chopping wood, building and maintaining a fire, kneading dough and letting it rise, or baking the loaves. Samuel Willard meditated on Christ as the "*Living Bread*," which "is not made without *Grinding* of the grain to dust, and being parched with *Water* and *Fire*; and Christ became Food for Souls to live on, by being bruised for our Sins, and scorched in the fire of Gods wrath, and so he is made fit for us to feed upon." Samuel Parris echoed this construction when he preached, "As Bread is Baked or dried in an Oven by the heat of the fire: So the body of Christ is as it were baked by the fire of the cross, & so prepared for to become food, or bread for our Souls." For these ministers, the significance lay in the parallels between the processes of baking bread and of creating spiritual food, sustenance for the spiritual bodies of the faithful.[42] While the woman who completed the tasks necessary to bake bread may also have perceived such links, she would have had a lifetime of physical memory to help her anchor such arduous spiritual work in her fleshly body.

"Sinews and other ligaments"

Ministers might not have had the tactile and muscular memories of grinding corn and kneading bread, but just as for the woman baking bread above or for the Narragansett ritual specialist discussed in chapter 2, their experiences of moving hand, foot, head, and torso helped them comprehend the divine body and its relation to its constituent parts.[43] The relation of one body part to another also helped them to articulate their vision of a proper visible church in which members were bound to one another with indissoluble bonds. In this language of physical or "natural" bodies and body parts, puritans struggled to balance an understanding of a hierarchy of importance among those parts against the transformative nature of Christ and the divine gift of salvation.

The parts of the body were all necessary to the whole because they had varying forms and functions, but their contributions were not all of the same significance. In the letter of instruction that opened this chapter, dissenting ministers exhorted their younger coreligionists to "Let every one Design and Aim to be serviceable in his Place and Relation" because "every little Member of our natural Body profits the whole; the Eye is the light of all the Body; the Tongue pleads for the whole, or for any part; the Hand receives and labours as much as for the Foot, or the Head, as for it self." The phrase "serviceable in his Place and Relation" is important here because it signaled the hierarchy among body parts. While "[e]very part must be useful to the Whole," some were "little" ones that played a lesser role. The head relied on the other body parts, but its authority was meant to reign supreme.[44]

John Calvin and John Winthrop explored the problem of connecting the parts of the body through a discussion of the function of sinews or ligaments. Each saw a different aspect of religious life as the binding matter of the body, but the imagery remained the same. Calvin described church discipline as the "sinews, through which the members of the body hold together, each in its own place." Without the sinews of discipline, including the power to excommunicate members and declare them as outside of the body, the church would dissolve because there would be nothing to hold it together.[45] In puritan theology, broadly defined, the unity of the invisible church in, and as, the body of Christ bound separate congregations together without an analogous bureaucratic structure to express that binding. Individuals who had been saved through God's grace were members of the invisible church; ideally, the membership of the visible church would match up with the invisible church of the

elect.[46] All were held together, but all were not equal because "each" was "in its own place." In terms of salvation, however, members of the elect were equal to one another.

Winthrop's "A Modell of Christian Charity" labeled Christ's love as the sinews knitting members together in one church. Winthrop reminded his audience, "Christ and his church make one body," a body whose "ligaments hereof being Christ or his love." Only with "propper ligamentes" could a body be perfect, "a glorious body without spot or wrinckle." The spotless physical state mirrored the perfect spiritual condition.[47] This "glorious body" was meant to stay intact. After Christ transformed them, all the parts existed in such a "contiguous . . . speciall relation as they must needes partake of each others strength and infirmity, joy, and sorrowe, weale and woe." He concluded, "That love is as absolutely necessary to the being of the body of Christ, as the sinewes and other ligaments of a naturall body are to the being of that body."[48] Winthrop emphasized the binding nature of the "naturall" body, finishing with a reiteration of the connection between the one body of the church and the physical body.

As John Cotton phrased the concept of permanent bonds among members, the "gifts of Grace, by which we are *Knit to Christ, and one to another, as head and members of one body*" created a bond in which each member needed one another. As Cotton quoted 1 Corinthians 12:21, "*The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor the head to the feet, I have no need of you.*"[49] Once formed, a visible church was meant to function as physical bodies did that could not dismember their constituent parts without extreme pain and a high likelihood of destruction. But of course, congregations did split and separate for a wide range of reasons. The body metaphors are a reminder of how seriously this group of Christians regarded those sunderings of the body of Christ and how viscerally they felt the conflict—even when it was over differences that may appear petty to outsiders in a far-removed time and place.

"A Monstrous body, a Politick Church"

Because bodily metaphors were based in the universal experience of having a physical body, the English and other Europeans found them to be useful in the explication of other types of group organization. The corporate entity of the body politic shared some characteristics with the body of Christ—most obviously the significance of bodily metaphor as a way to understand relationships between human beings in a given

community—but the two were not identical in function or in composition. The body politic explained and justified a hierarchical, static society, while the body of Christ was meant to change its members and offer a new model for social organization that did not depend on established worldly sources of power such as wealth or bloodline. Different interpretations of these bodies existed, but the broad contrast between static and transformative remained.

Political bodies had appeared in English literature at least since the twelfth century, but bodily metaphors became more popular beginning in the sixteenth century as a means to lend a sense of natural and inherent authority to the English government. Political theorists and the Crown attempted to make the body of Christ and the body politic appear as connected as possible to claim divine authority for the monarch.[50] The concept of the king's two bodies—one natural and subject to decay, the other divine and eternal—came out of the belief in Christ's dual human and divine nature and demonstrates the intertwining of political and religious thought in Europe from the medieval through the early modern period. Transposed onto the body of the monarch, Christ's dual nature provided a model in which the authority of the monarchy continued and passed on even when a particular monarch succumbed to mortality and died. The concept of the body politic did not inherently contain a connection to the divine. By making that connection between the body of Christ and the monarch, political writers described a body politic with a divinely ordained king or queen as the head.[51]

Applied to the political organization of English society overall, bodily metaphor expressed and encouraged a static hierarchy of family and state. Just as physical bodies functioned best when each part fulfilled its function, social bodies were most healthful when their members accepted their places and performed their natural and ordained roles. English authors elaborated the metaphor in great detail, so that husbandmen and laborers were usually the feet, the monarch was the head, and other occupations filled in the territory between—lawyers might be the lungs, for instance. Even when English representations of the body politic moved from the monarchical or aristocratic body to the common body, writers and thinkers assigned body parallels to a multitude of societal positions.[52]

When Oliver Cromwell, the leaders of the army, and the Parliament beheaded Charles I in 1649, they removed what they believed to be a diseased member of the body politic. Cromwell's critics as well as those who feared a headless body politic—one ruled by Parliament rather than

a monarch—used metaphors of monstrous bodies and headless births to express what they saw as the fundamental disorder and danger of that situation. Charles II's restoration to the throne of England in 1660 reinstated the link between the monarch's body and Christ's.[53] The Glorious Revolution of 1688–89 challenged hereditary divine kingship by ousting James II in favor of the Dutch William of Orange and Mary, James II's daughter. William's supporters envisioned a tight overlap between the body of Christ and the body politic in which Protestant monarchs ruled over a Protestant country by virtue of their religious affiliation. Belonging to a particular body of Christ trumped aristocratic bloodlines.[54]

Some strongly anti-Catholic colonists took advantage of the chaos in England following the change in royal leadership to push for a decentralized empire that followed the lineaments of a Protestant body of Christ rather than those of a body politic headed by a monarch. New England agitators created a perception that Edmund Andros, the governor of the Dominion of New England, was a secret Catholic whose policies were geared toward strengthening New England's enemies, Native Catholics and their French allies in New France. Crown officials in New England misjudged how easily colonists might associate royal administration with the supposed tyranny of "popery" and were beaten back by a conflagration that threatened to consume the part of the imperial framework that was their bailiwick and, in 1689, ended the Dominion of New England. Royal officials in the English Caribbean, however, saw the need to direct the conflation of the body of Christ and body politic into one. Even though many of the same rumors about the "papist" sympathies of imperial administration that circulated in New England existed and may even have originated in the Caribbean, in the 1690s officials in the island colonies were able to fan ordinary colonists' fear of Catholics into a contained fire that drew English colonists together as subjects of a newly centralized Protestant empire under the control of a powerful monarch. King William's War, which included conflicts from northern New England to the Caribbean between 1689 and 1697, assisted colonists in defining the body politic of the empire as one that was contiguous with a Protestant body of Christ. Exactly whom that definition excluded besides French Catholics depended on the specifics of local contests, but they all linked their part of the conflict to the fate of the imperial and Protestant whole.[55]

Although the body of Christ and the body politic both drew from the human experience of embodiment, the appropriate relationship between the two was contentious. Exactly where and how these bodies should

overlap were matters of much conflict. When parties disagreed about what properly belonged to each body, they charged their opponents with creating something monstrous. Those who held to spiritual practices further removed from the rituals of the Church of England argued that puritans allowed the body politic too much influence in their bodies of Christ, with the result that social hierarchy rather than scripture determined more of their worship practices. Francis Howgill, a member of the Society of Friends, complained of puritan minister John Norton that, "having made a Monstrous body, a Politick Church, he imagines a head like it, and therefore blasphemously saith, Christ is the greatest Politician." Friends, or Quakers as their opponents derisively named them, aimed to separate the body politic and the body of Christ almost entirely and have meetings for worship shaped overwhelmingly by extemporaneous inspiration from God, led by individuals who felt immediately moved to do so rather than by virtue of their academic or other worldly training.

In Howgill's view, puritan configurations of the body politic and the church combined unnaturally and produced something "Monstrous." Pressing his point, Howgill continued, "Did Paul say as often as ye eat this Political bread, and drink this visible Political Cup you shew forth the Lords death till he come?"[56] The jarring rhetorical move of inserting human institutions into scriptural passages giving instructions for the celebration of the Lord's Supper was meant to shock his readers through its concrete representation of the full consequences of overreaching human areas of concern and crossing the boundary into divine prerogative, of venerating the body politic in spaces encompassed by the body of Christ. Howgill's pointed phrases suggest the irritation at the places where definitions of the body politic and the body of Christ did not meet smoothly.

"Members of the same Body with them"

Disputes over the proper relationship between the body of Christ and the body politic lay at the center of a conflict over the significance of baptism and what its worldly consequences ought to be. By the middle of the seventeenth century, increasing percentages of the second generation of English colonists were baptized but were not full church members. Their desire to have their own children baptized sparked much discussion about what membership in the body of Christ should mean in the body politic and about what kinds of differentiation were acceptable among members of a single body. In 1662, a synod of eighty ministers and lay

leaders agreed on a compromise to extend baptism to children whose parents were baptized but not full members. Critics of the practice during the religious revivals of the 1730s derisively termed this partial incorporation the Halfway Covenant, a name that has largely stuck in subsequent scholarship. Some ministers, such as John Mitchel of Cambridge First Church, interpreted this decision in favor of extended baptism to permit outreach to "unchurched" families without previous affiliation with a colonial church, an attempt to bring entirely new members into the body of Christ.[57]

Although conflict over the definition of membership in New England puritan churches intensified through the 1650s as the first generation of colonists moved past the prime of life, ministers had been arguing the exact relationship between baptism and church membership for decades. In New England puritan congregations, men and women had to give a personal account of their conversion experience before being admitted to full church membership, a practice that was only picked up in Old England after the overthrow of the monarchy encouraged the formation of separate puritan churches instead of continuing to work from within Church of England congregations.[58] For women, full church membership stopped at being able to participate in the ritual meal of the Lord's Supper, but for men it also meant eligibility for lay leadership positions in the church and suffrage in civil government. The requirement of a recounting of divine action for admission to the Lord's Supper came from ministerial attempts to get the visible body of Christ, the gathered church, lined up as exactly as was humanly possible with the invisible church of the saved.

This restriction threatened to create a hereditary spiritual body passed on through the medium of physical flesh and bones that excluded all but a tiny fraction of those who might join together for worship in a given community. At issue was whether infants were members of a particular gathered church body by virtue of their parents' covenant, with baptism only a "seal" of that previously received membership, or whether baptism itself created membership in a church as the body of Christ. While puritan ministers took up a range of positions on baptismal practice and busied themselves debating the necessity of infant baptism with their Baptist counterparts—who perhaps more simply administered the ritual only to those who could claim regenerate status on their own behalf—most eventually came to the optimistic statement of the Cambridge Platform of 1648 that baptism made the attainment of grace "more hopefull."[59]

Many ministers and congregations initially chose not to practice extended baptism because they feared it would weaken the cohesion of the congregation by attenuating connections among its members. They also worried that it would prevent the growth of Christ's body by removing a key inducement for individuals to overcome their doubts about experiencing grace and take their places at the Lord's table. Supporters of the synod's decision charged that these critics harmed rather than strengthened the body of Christ by overly differentiating among the bonds that held the body together, splitting and untwining what had been strong sinews into weak, thin strands. In the latter's interpretation, by admitting some members into the church under different circumstances from others, opponents of extended baptism effectively created such incompatible types of members that they would not all be able to become one with each other, sundering the one body of Christ. Here was bodily difference created through religious practice, not through emerging distinctions of race.[60]

Those who argued in favor of extended baptism perceived the body of Christ as stretching temporally across the generations, while those who argued against it maintained a more contained body. John Allin, among others, urged dissenters from the synod to see that withholding baptism from the children of adults who had been baptized in their own infancy was tantamount to denying that there was only one baptism creating membership in the single body of Christ. Allin pointedly expressed his concern that in addition to having no basis in scripture, these multiple types of membership would shatter the unity of the body of Christ and prevent the many from becoming one: "But how shall the *Body be one,* if some be Baptized into this Body *as actual and personal Members*, some *not actual or personal*; some into *a parental covenant*, some *personal?* What a Schism might this make?" Christ could create one body "consisting of *many Members* (some weak, and of less honour, &c." because "By Baptism, *the Seal of the covenant*, we are *all Baptized into one Body.*" However, disparate types of membership, unlike differences in strength or honor, created a separation among parts that could not be overcome.[61] Thomas Shepard took a different approach when he framed children's membership and admittance to the "priviledges" of the same, such as baptizing their own children when the time came, as a matter of "common sence" as well as of "the knowledg of Truth." Only those "bereaved" of both would fail to "understand, that if the root be holy, the branch is holy, Rom. 11. 16." Children were branches on the family tree who inherited their "Holyness" from the "Faithfull" bodies of their parents.[62]

Discussions over what type of membership in the body of Christ might be passed on from parent to child continued for decades. At issue was whether individuals could gain at least partial inclusion from inborn and inherited qualities—something knit into the bones and blood and passed from parent to child—or whether people could only become members on an individual (if divinely ordained and influenced) basis. While the great majority of puritan ministers did not believe that an individual could become a member of the invisible church through particular actions like eating the ritual meal of the Lord's Supper—only divine grace could accomplish that—there was still disagreement over the compass of what puritans viewed as the covenant between humans and their God, of across how many generations the privileges of membership stretched and could be passed on.[63] In 1686, Cotton Mather, a second-generation minister's child, took notes on the sermon of another second-generation minister's child, Nathaniel Gookin. Gookin gave the sermon in Cambridge "on a day of prayer kept . . . for direction about bringing the children of the church under the watch of it." He preached that "the little ones of Zion are part of Zion." The "children of covenant," with their parents, "are members of the same Body with them,—bear the same relation, have a Title to the same priviledges."[64] His last phrase alluded to inheritance in the social body, the passing on of access to the benefits of a particular social status. While the privileges encompassed in this title did not include "being Converted" and so were not part of an argument of the heredity of grace, Gookin did describe an expansive membership within the constrained category of those with familial connections to the church.

In the mouth of another minister, those connections might have been exclusively English. But Nathaniel Gookin was the son of Daniel Gookin, the long-serving "superintendent to the Indians" who, along with John Eliot, worked to develop Native puritan communities even after King Philip's War convinced most English that such an initiative was hopeless at best and extremely dangerous at worst. Nor was the connection only through Gookin's father: Eliot had been among the ministers who laid their hands on the younger Gookin at his ordination as minister of First Church of Cambridge. And seven years before Gookin preached on Ezra 8:21, which sought "a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance," he signed as witness to a contract between the towns of Natick and Sherborn that set aside a forty-acre lot "to the use of a ffree schoole, for teaching the English & Indian children there the English tongue & other sciences." His own experience predisposed him to be

aware of puritans who were also Wampanoag, or Nipmuc, or Narragansett, although that awareness did not mean encouraging these alternate expressions of the body of Christ. As the desire to establish a school that would instruct "English & Indian children" in "the English tongue & other sciences," his and other missionaries' goals included acculturation to English language and, more broadly, their worldview.[65] As Nathaniel Gookin's activities suggest, the particular cultural topography of New England was a key factor in the question of the proper order of events between baptism and the formation of a local body of Christ.

Among English puritans, the body politic was related to the body of Christ, but the two entities did not entirely coincide in membership or in structure. The body of Christ was composed of the elect who would receive salvation at Judgment Day. The body politic—though it was meant to be coequal with the perfected form of the body of Christ—of necessity contained nonelect inhabitants of this world, those whom Christ had not saved. One could be part of the body politic without having full liberties since the body was made up of subordinate parts as well as the head. For the church as the body of Christ, Christ was the head, and its members existed in hierarchical arrangements. But the purpose of the body of Christ, the common characteristic among all its members, was salvation; all members of the elect received salvation in equal measure. The body politic, on the other hand, was primarily based on hierarchy.

Using these models for community was a more complicated task in the Americas where Europeans encountered what they increasingly perceived to be the different bodies of Indians and Africans, people who had their own ideas about the human body and how it related to the surrounding world. They presented distinct models of bounding individual and collective bodies and followed unfamiliar rules for their interaction with each other and with the spiritual world. Nodes of contention between the hierarchy of body parts and the equality that came from being part of a transformative whole existed in different places in each configuration of the collective body. Even as those disparate locations created conflict and misunderstanding, the shared need to balance hierarchy and equality in some fashion provided an avenue of intelligible—if often garbled—exchange.

Part 2 of this book explores the ways in which these alternative definitions and performances of spiritual and physical bodies challenged English puritan notions of the body of Christ and the body politic. When puritan communities tried to bring the two bodily metaphors into close

concordance so that human government followed divine order, Africans and Natives sometimes found precarious places in English communities through becoming members of the body of Christ. Their conversion and resulting presence in the body of Christ had the potential to unsettle social hierarchies of slavery, race, and gender because of the overlap between the body of Christ and the body politic, a congruence whose exact measure was itself in dispute. Even if the potential to upset hierarchy was not always realized, the possibility always threatened as groups disagreed on the appropriate relationship between parts of the body.[66] The contentious presence and bodily performances of Quakers and Irish Catholics highlighted the continuing significance of confessional affinity in determining the proper constitution of the body, while English governments, both imperial and local, gradually came to define Natives and Africans as foreign substances in the body politic. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, these irregular processes of definition had solidified into standard practice and codified law.

Part II

Performing

His name was Adam. He was probably given a different name at birth, one that reflected his kinship ties to older living relatives, or created a link to a relative who had died and conferred some qualities of that ancestor on the new infant.[1] Becoming a captive in the slave trade might have spurred him to cast off his old name in search of better fortune, but his purchasers would have been indifferent to any of his names, simply counting him as part of the cargo (or consciously failing to note his presence to ease upcoming port duties) in the shipping record that enshrined the documentary trace of his journey across the sea. Although nameless, he may have been included in an inked enumeration of "likely" or "lusty" or, if he had not done well on the voyage, "sickly," one of a number of young boys crammed together.[2] Only later, upon his arrival in the Caribbean, did someone dub him Adam. Or perhaps his stay in the Caribbean was too short for him to be called much more than "niño" or "boy" and it was only once an English man purchased him in Virginia or New England that he became Adam. A Boston-area merchant named John Saffin or one of his trading partners may have smuggled the boy who became Adam directly from Africa, or Saffin may have acquired Adam from a previous owner in the mainland colonies.[3]

Whatever Adam's route, at some point before 1693 he ended up as a bondsman to Saffin. In 1694, they agreed to a contract

that limited Adam's service to seven more years, but later disagreed about whether he had fulfilled the terms of the contract. As part of the dispute, Saffin declared his intent to sell Adam "beyond Sea," which the latter resisted, evidently unwilling to leave the Boston area and the small but significant community of enslaved and free Africans, connections its members arduously developed in stolen moments.[4]

Thomas Shepard Jr., who in 1693 had rented Adam's labor along with "the Stock of Cattle and Sheep" on John Saffin's Bristol, Massachusetts, farm, described Adam as "very disobedient, turbulent, outragious and unruly."[5] In his lawyer's appeals, he was "Adam a negro late slave to John Saffin Esqr." or "Adam negro."[6] In magistrate Samuel Sewall's diary, he was nameless, paired with a woman, "a negro and his wife," wrongfully imprisoned and enslaved. Later in life he took on the last name Saffin, appropriating the name of the man from whom he finally wrested his physical freedom after two-and-a-half years of litigation.[7]

At the center of that litigation, giving textual and legal life to Adam's desire to be "at his own Dispose and Liberty as other free men are" to determine his own mode of employment, habitation, and activities, was a 1694 writ of indenture. The indenture set up the expectation that Adam would receive his freedom if, for seven years, he would "go on chearfully quietly and Industriouslly . . . and abear himself as an Honest true and faithfull Servant ought to doe."[8] But he and his supporters disagreed sharply with his master and his master's tenant over whether or not he had embodied the ideal "faithfull Servant." Just how was a faithful servant to act? Was there any room for an African man to function as a free inhabitant of an English colonial town? Bermudian officials attempted to negate the question by repeatedly declaring exile for any free people of color, but no such edicts came down in Massachusetts or other southern New England colonies where borders were much harder to enforce.[9]

Upending the usual scholarly perspective on these records—that of a pamphlet debate between two Massachusetts magistrates who had clashed in other arenas before they came to a public conflict over the biblical justification for slavery—redirects our attention to the person who was the nexus for these disputes over bodies and belonging.[10] His ability to marshal support from Samuel Sewall and from a leading lawyer in the colony to help him navigate the colonial legal system in pursuit of his freedom was unusual among the enslaved in New England, but the underlying desire to do so was widespread. He matched that legal defense with personal ones in extralegal interactions, physically asserting his status as an independent worker and expressing his frustration

at the man who called himself his master in a language he knew Saffin would not understand—a witness testified that Adam "Jabber'd" in Saffin's face "but I could not tell what he said." Once his freedom was confirmed, however, Adam showed up, year after year, when the town of Boston required him and other free African men to repair public highways.[11] Although he confirmed English fears of Africans as potentially dangerous and unruly through his return of physical violence, his later dutiful performance of his civic obligation undercut such constructions.

The limited extent of the documentation of Adam's life means that certain knowledge of some aspects of Adam's world does not exist. Sewall's initial mention of the wrongfully imprisoned "negro and his wife" did not mention Adam by name, and later notations regarding his case did not include any reference to a wife. That lack of documentary precision does not, of course, mean that she did not exist. English slave owners most often recorded pairings between people of African descent, whether short- or long-term, as a by-product of dividing the ownership of children that might result or had resulted from such unions. Neither are there records of Adam's religious practices. Although his legal tussles with his erstwhile master did not turn on any disputed practices of faith, the short but pitched pamphlet battle between Saffin and Sewall raised issues of the proper relationship between Christianity and slavery and how baptism ought to affect Africans' (and, more obliquely, Indians') freedom status.

Neither magistrate questioned whether Africans could or should become members of the body of Christ and faithful servants to the Christian God. Sewall's 1700 pamphlet *The Selling of Joseph* implicitly framed Africans as potential Christians through its statement that the "good" done for Africans by bringing them "out of a Pagan Country, into places where the Gospel is preached"—and where, implicitly, they would then become Christians—was not enough to "rectify" the "Evil" of slavery.[12] Saffin's published counterargument in support of slavery made explicit that framing: "it is no Evil thing to bring them out of their own Heathenish Country" to a place where Africans may "be Converted and Eternally saved." In Saffin's view, enslaved Africans in New England and other English colonies could serve as faithful bodies on multiple levels. Their position as "born Slaves" confirmed "the Order that God hath set in the World," an order Saffin explained through reference to the scriptural comparison in 1 Corinthians 12 between "the different sorts and offices of the Members of the Body, indigitating that they are all of use, but not equal, and of like dignity." Their exposure to Christianity would

result in their becoming Christian, faithful—but explicitly unequal—parts of the body of Christ.[13] Even for such a vicious and categorical critic of Africans as Saffin, who described Adam and other Africans as "Prone to revenge, Imp of inveterate hate," heredity of enslavement did not correlate to exclusion from Christianity.[14] Africans' place was as potential Christians of lesser status. Adam's own spiritual practice remains obscured, but his fight for control over his own body prompted printed statements from English colonists on the physical constitution of the spiritual body.

Beginning the story with Adam serves as a reminder that the early modern Atlantic world was a series of negotiations embedded in the unequal power dynamics of colonial encounters. Those interactions formed the substance of cultures involved in such exchanges, not only their expressions or representations, and help to illuminate the complexity of the process of defining human difference in the puritan Atlantic specifically as well as early North America generally. Slanting the perspective on intercultural performance to focus on those whose enactments of faithful bodies in Christian contexts challenged puritan iterations of the body of Christ brings together a multitude of players within the broad and constructed categories of *European*, *Indian*, and *African*.[15] These competing bodies of Christ highlight the interplay between the Atlantic and the local in their creation of confessional spaces that were part of emerging definitions of difference, spaces that sometimes lined up with boundaries defined by skin color and freedom status, but often moved across those categories.

Chapter 4 first considers Adam's textual and corporeal performances in which he acted the part of an unusually well-connected person wrongfully enslaved as well as that of a bellicose man eminently capable of physically defending his reputation against all comers. These contentious interactions invite a further examination of how English puritans categorized physical difference and related those categories to inner characteristics, both in individual and corporate bodies, which reveals a slower path to the conflation of religious and racial labels in New England and Bermuda than in Virginia and the English Caribbean. With this English puritan interpretive framework in place, chapters 5 through 8 take up a more sustained analysis of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century performances that disrupted English puritan notions of faithful bodies. In their interruption of puritan meetings, in their own rituals of worship, and then in their textual framing of their refusal to pay fines for not attending militia trainings or religious services, Quakers' performances

enacted a distinct theology of the body that directly challenged puritan definitions of how faithful and faith-filled bodies were supposed to look and behave. Catholics within the bounds of puritan colonies, especially Irish Catholics, carried the danger of spiritual corruption as well as bodily difference. Native puritans, whether in the "praying Indian" communities close to the bulk of English settlements or the Wampanoags on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, did not confine themselves to this English puritan sense of their cultural distance. They continued to follow longer-standing organizations of community that, especially in the face of English pressure, resulted in a distinctly Indian body of Christ. Some Indian and African children bound to English colonists in New England and Bermuda also became Christians, finding space to negotiate room for religious practice behind the stock phrases about religious instruction in indenture contracts. However, the perceived lessons of King Philip's War made colonists less committed to the idea that Natives could become Christians while in Bermuda the primary conflicts took place over enslaved Bermudians' attempt to use baptism to gain freedom.

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4 / "Extravasat Blood"

Adam Saffin's actions challenged varying levels of puritan notions of bodily order. Laying the descriptions of Adam's behavior that had landed him in court against a consideration of his motives and perspective suggests the unstable place of an African man who insisted on personal dignity backed by physical force in Boston at the opening of the eighteenth century. In 1701, Adam thought he was free. He had served out his time, and so when his former master John Saffin demanded that he leave Boston for Bristol and then work for someone in Swansea, Adam refused. Instead, he got dressed in clothes that he had probably been able to acquire using the £3 of income gained from tending his own patch of tobacco, left Saffin's household, and went about his own business in Boston. He secured a lawyer and worked through the legal system to contest John Saffin's continuing efforts to have his "enfranchizement," his manumission, declared void on the basis that he had not fulfilled the terms of the agreement. In the meantime, when the court ordered him back under Saffin's direction he complied and worked on building the fortifications at Castle Island. Adam did object when, after he had ignored the militia officer's direction to dig earth in a different way, that officer called him a "Rascal." The captain's insult was not only a statement that Adam belonged to the lowest social order, but it also accused him of dishonesty. Adam retorted that he was "no rascal, no rogue, no thief," whereupon the captain hit his pipe out of his mouth and pushed him, violence Adam returned. His physical defense of his reputation earned him another stint in jail.[1]

A second account of the incident at Castle Island omitted the verbal taunting and contained no hint that Adam might have been justified in defending his reputation and honor. Instead, he was "in great Fury & rage," out of control, and "so furous & outragious and putt forth so great Strength that it was as much as Six or Seven" men "could do to hold and restrain him." His "pertinacy"—that is, his refusal to act as a subordinate then and at other times—provoked repeated descriptions of him as "very Surley" and "sawcy." Not only did the immediate participants in the Castle Island incident reject the idea that Adam's assertion of his independence was justified, colonial laws altered his relationship to the body politic even once the court recognized his freedom. "Free negro's molattos &c." were required to work between two and eight days annually repairing town highways "as an equivalent to Trainings Watchings &c."[2] In 1652, the Massachusetts legislature had decreed that "Scotsmen, Negers, and Indians inhabitants . . . are hereby enjoyned to attend traynings," but in 1656 it dropped Africans and Indians from the militia, as did Connecticut in 1660. The Massachusetts 1656 law also limited the militia franchise to freemen, householders, and persons who had already taken the oath of fidelity.[3] Not all English colonies took this approach: enslaved people of color in Bermuda were expected to train with arms in order to repel a feared foreign attack on the island.[4]

Adam's presence in Massachusetts courts and on the streets of Boston came at a time when English officials and colonists were sharpening their attention to the place of enslaved Africans and indentured Indians in New England. This heightened interest occurred long after such questions had become central in other English colonies, colonies with a longer and more extensive history of the importation of Africans. While there were already more than one thousand Africans in southern New England at the opening of the eighteenth century—enough that even English colonists outside of port cities would have come into contact with Africans on a weekly basis—the opening of the eighteenth century saw mainland Natives becoming more deeply enmeshed in multigenerational debt to English colonists.[5] In addition, Africans and Algonquians were not the only ones held in unwilling bondage in the decades following King William's War (1689–97). That and subsequent conflicts created a local market for English, French, and Haudenosaunee captives whose release prices were negotiated by English leaders on one side and French and Haudenosaunee leaders on the other.[6]

These colonial transactions were part of, and yet distinct from, larger shifts in the English empire and Atlantic world. In Virginia, elite and

common Anglo-Virginians had come to espouse what Rebecca Goetz has termed "hereditary heathenism," which held that Christianity was an inherited characteristic limited to, and an important constituent factor in, whiteness. That attitude was not evident in the same way in New England despite the fact that enslaved Africans were present throughout the region and Boston's economy was deeply enmeshed in the slave trade. Most New England colonists were deeply committed to enslaving Africans, but through the seventeenth century, they did not racialize slavery using the same language of hereditary heathenism that existed in the Chesapeake or the Caribbean. Their Bermudian counterparts wrote less voluminously, but similarly continued to see Bermudians of color as part of the body of Christ. Internal changes in puritanism attenuated the closely symbiotic relationship between the body politic and the body spiritual, widening the debate over the proper relationship between membership in one body and in the other.[7] Adam's fight for his freedom offers a window onto the attitudes of the New England colonists in his immediate surroundings and also opens up a vantage point on the wider landscape of the body and the environment, revealing the uneven terrain of defining and interpreting difference in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

English colonists drew on local experience as well as on transatlantic discussions to articulate their understanding of bodies and difference. Indeed, their colonial knowledge made significant contributions to those larger discussions as they and their patrons in England tried to work out the appropriate link between individual and environment; between finite, human knowledge of outward action or appearance and infinite, divine awareness of and influence on inward state; between slavery and a disputed curse laid on the biblical ancestors of Africans; and between baptism and physical freedom. In particular, puritan ministers and other elites participated in an understanding of bodily difference influenced by several theories and intellectual movements: the Galenic humoral body; strands of natural philosophy that sought knowledge through observation of and experiment with the seen and unseen worlds; a Calvinist application of physiognomic theory of the concordance between outward action and inward effect; and biblical exegesis. Indians did not inspire the same questions as did Africans of whether the end to spiritual slavery ought to mean physical freedom because they were not as widely subject to chattel slavery, but they did intensify discussions about the concordance between the actions and characteristics of the outer physical body and the state of the inner soul. Daily interactions with

indentured Indians and enslaved Africans required their masters (and those who aspired to be masters) to develop a working definition of what it meant to be a faithful servant and kept open the question of whether Africans, English, and Indians could be part of the same body of faith.

"A kind of extravasat Blood"

The dueling pamphlets inspired by interactions with Adam and published by Samuel Sewall and John Saffin took opposing stances on whether Christians were permitted to own slaves, but they shared a concern that Africans could not become part of the body politic and an assumption that interracial marriage was undesirable, expressing those attitudes through metaphors of disordered and diseased bodies. Sewall's *The Selling of Joseph* critiqued slavery partly based on the idea that Africans were unchangeably inferior. Sewall's ideal body politic did not include Africans at all: one of his arguments against slavery was that it would bring in increasing numbers of Africans who had "such a disparity in their Conditions, Colour and Hair, that they can never embody with us, and grow into orderly Families, to the Peopling of the Land." Those individuals would "still remain in our Body Politick as a kind of extravasat Blood," that is, blood forced from its proper vehicle of veins and arteries into other bodily tissue, causing problems. The vague solution Sewall proposed was to stop the practice of enslaving Africans and to bring no more into New England, filling labor needs with white servants who could marry masters' daughters.[8]

Saffin retorted in his *Brief and Candid Answer to a Late Printed Sheet, Entituled, The Selling of Joseph* that while all could agree that white servants were "in many respects to be preferred before Blacks," it did not follow that it was "altogether unlawful for Christians to buy and keep Negro Servants." And even if the General Assembly were to pass a law that emancipated currently held slaves in Massachusetts and banned the importation of any more, reimbursing owners "out of the Publick Treasury"—which Saffin conceded might bring more of the English colonists to an antislavery position—Sewall "would find it a hard task to bring the Country to consent thereto; for then the Negroes must be all sent out of the Country, or else the remedy would be worse than the Disease." In Saffin's formulation as in Sewall's, the presence of Africans, particularly free Africans, was the "Disease." He drove home the point by warning that "if there be not some strict course taken with them by Authority, they will be a plague to this Country."[9]

For Saffin as for most of his readers, plagues and other infectious diseases were all too deadly, so the metaphor was one weighted with personal experience. The danger that free Africans posed to social order was one that could spread from one to another, a problem that Saffin continued to face as he tried to retain ownership of Adam. In a 1703 petition that was part of that effort, Saffin cautioned against allowing Adam's "evil example" to go unpunished because "all Negros both in Town and countrey" have "eyes . . . upon this wretched Negro to see the Issue of these his exorbitant practices." Saffin tried to minimize Adam's own series of petitions, his action as a member of the English body politic and a subject of the monarchy in his own right, as nothing more than "villainous practices," but Adam's action to declare and defend his physical freedom had certainly been a plague to Saffin.[10]

Sewall's and Saffin's uses of the bodily metaphors of "extravasat Blood" and "Disease" signal the significance of the correspondence between physical, individual bodies and less tangible, corporate bodies in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century puritan Atlantic. Their recourse to bodily metaphors to describe the healthy functioning of corporate bodies was a long-standing and widespread practice in Western thought. The workings of individual human bodies corresponded to the workings of the celestial bodies and unseen forces that made up the universe. Affecting one type of body influenced the other. Galen's classical theory of four humors—blood, black bile (melancholy), yellow bile (choler), and phlegm, corresponding to the four elements of earth, air, wind, and fire—structured health as a perfect balance among those humors.[11]

Proponents of humoral theory often expanded their ideas to a broader geography and laid out an argument that external climate changed human bodies to such an extent that it created different types of people. In this view, varying humoral balances in disparate geographies and climates resulted in differences in an individual's skin, hair, and teeth. In the second century C.E., Ptolemy used Galen's humoral theory to explain how varying climates affected their inhabitants, connecting the melancholic personality to blackness. In the thirteenth century, the theologian Thomas Aquinas saw God as the source of climatic and thus human physical variation so that some were better formed than others.[12]

These climatic explanations of human difference gained traction through the publication and circulation of physiognomic treatises throughout Europe such as Giambattista della Porta's *Della fisionomia dell'uomo* (On the physiognomy of man).[13] Applying Galenic theory

and climatic variation in an effort to find the source of differences in temperament, della Porta briefly posited an inverse relationship between the temperature and color of skin and that of internal physiology. The concentration of heat meant that people in cold climates had white, soft, and hairless skin, and bold and animated spirits. However, della Porta quickly abandoned this theory because it undermined his physiognomic efforts to use the surface of the body as a direct indicator of behavior.[14]

The perception of women as particularly vulnerable to outside influence meant that pregnant women might affect a fetus they carried by the foods they ingested, or even by gazing upon something, a belief traceable to the Hebrew Bible. This outside influence could originate in the unseen as well as the visible world, which led to a common belief in the propensity for women with unorthodox beliefs to give birth to monstrous creatures. What later scholars have referred to as the antinomian controversy (1636–38) developed in Massachusetts between a group, initially including some clergy like John Cotton who believed that God could lead lay people to inspired interpretation of the scriptures without much guidance from the clergy, and the majority of ministers who limited that interpretive role to the clergy. When the pregnancies of Mary Dyer and Anne Hutchinson, two women who were prominent in the mixed-sex prayer and Bible study meetings, resulted in abnormal births, their opponents accused them of "monstrous births" that expressed the women's theological heterodoxy and spiritual disorder. The effects of such beliefs lasted past the official end to the controversy, as Hutchinson's monstrous birth occurred three years after her exile to Rhode Island.[15] In England, monstrous bodies functioned as both portents and punishments of disease and disorder in the body politic, especially during the intense conflicts of the English Civil War. The human body was a microcosm of the universe, the macrocosm, and so disease of one was linked to disease of the other.[16]

Paracelsian alchemy also influenced seventeenth-century puritans' ideas about the body and its environment. In the late sixteenth century, a "scholar-mystic-alchemist-physician" who became known as Paracelsus posited that the cause of disease was not an imbalance of humors but instead was the result of astra, particles of energy or life forces specific to each disease, that attacked their counterparts in the human body. Vanquishing the disease meant introducing medicines with astra that were similar enough to the disease astra to neutralize them. Curing thus involved the inverse of the Galenic technique of applying something with opposite qualities to balance the humors. In the Paracelsian system,

like attracted like, so a wet cough called for a wet and moist treatment, often derived from alchemical techniques of distillation and purification. Although the treatment of disease operated on different theories, in both cases the human body existed as a microcosm of the universe. In England, proponents of the two theories clashed in rancorous debate, but New England lacked professionally trained Galenic doctors. Many colonial healers, male and female, practiced Galenic and herbal medicine without launching public critiques of Paracelsian alchemists.[17] Whether more Galenic or Paracelsian, puritans linked the motions and condition of the outward body to the inner essence of a person. They thus had to work to discern how to categorize types of appearances so as to comprehend the difference that might inhere in their souls.

The technique of discerning inner qualities, such as moral attributes, through outer characteristics, such as facial features, was widespread in Western thought through the seventeenth century and grew out of ancient understandings of the relationship between body and environment. The classical word for this theory was *physiognomony*, but authors in the early modern period also used the simpler version *physiognomy*.[18] While applications in following centuries such as phrenology—which based potential intelligence as well as moral character on particular body measurements—used physical attributes to slot individuals into unchanging hierarchical categories, its sixteenth- and seventeenth-century usage allowed greater room for individual action. By changing one's environment or the balance of humors in the body, it was possible to move closer to the golden mean of equilibrium.[19]

Physiognomic explanations of outward physical characteristics as revealing inner character were a part of considerations of the body of Christ, even as they did not entirely determine the categories of that discussion. Scriptural passages both supported and warned against judging by appearance. Authors most often selected John 7:24, "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment," as attacking physiognomy. One of the most popular that seemed to authorize physiognomy was Isaiah 3:9, which declared, "The shew of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not." The idea that worship must happen with the practice of the body as well as the inclination of the heart was central to the English puritan practice of piety throughout the seventeenth century. John Downame's *A Guide to Godlinesse* reminded readers, "The inward service of the heart therefore is not sufficient, unlesse it be expressed in the outward service of the body." With the need for individuals to align their inward and outward

service to God, physiognomy became a religious exercise.[20] Indeed, with the proper and methodical attention, it was possible to discern legible traces of the workings of the unseen world on the soul's appearance.[21]

Some English writers applied physiognomy to the question of whether Indians and Africans could be members of the body of Christ, exploring the origin of their perceived physical differences from Europeans and asking whether there were consequences for their inward qualities. The English at times admired the sensory perceptions and the "lustie," "strong," and "straight bodied" Indians they encountered at the same time that Natives' susceptibility to diseases like smallpox countered that impression with one of inferiority.[22] While some English saw Indians as potential corruptions to be avoided, many others did not. The medical providentialism of English colonists' understanding of disease—their belief that God controlled the outbreak of sickness and could make cures efficacious or not, and that pain and illness had spiritual value—molded puritan interpretations of epidemically induced high death rates among coastal Algonquians.[23] Rather than serving as evidence that Indian bodies were a priori physically inferior to English ones and should be avoided, those deaths were proof of God's impact on the world. Attention to this mode of interpreting disease puts actions such as Plymouth colonists' care for the Matianucks, who were living along the Connecticut River near a Plymouth trading outpost (close to present-day Windsor) during a 1635 outbreak of smallpox in a less exceptional light. William Bradford recounted the colonists' ministrations to Indians who were so heavily stricken that "They were in the end not able to help one another." The English stepped in to keep fires going, bring food and water, and bury the dead. Despite such close contact, "by the marvelous goodness and providence of God, not one of the English was so much as sick or in the least measure tainted with this disease." Such words were not after-the-fact justifications of English bodily superiority. They expressed a specific understanding of the influence of unseen forces on the material world and of the Christian God's role in inflicting, preventing, and healing disease.[24]

English puritan interpretations of the causes of disease were probably of little consolation to Natives who did not share those explanations as they were suffering from pain and illness, but the difference has great significance for tracing the development of hardened racial categories. Indians and English had to learn to think of each other in absolute racial categories.[25] The prominence of medical providentialism, not only among the elites who dispensed cures but also among all the patients who came seeking them, fills in detail about how those ideas developed

in New England. They were not automatic, nor were they instant upon seeing the devastation spread by smallpox and other diseases among unexposed populations. In the mid-1640s, John Winthrop Jr. established his town (eventually called New London, now part of Connecticut but which he repeatedly tried to get annexed to Massachusetts) next to the Pequot town of Nameaug and gave medical treatment to many of its five hundred residents in his own home. Winthrop interpreted the bodies of Pequots just as he did those of English colonists: as a microcosm of the cosmos created and filled by God that could be treated with alchemical medicine, subject to illness and healing as determined by God. For Winthrop and other puritan elites, including ministers, who practiced as Christian alchemists and healers, disease among Natives was not evidence of preexisting inferiority but rather evidence of God's working in the world.[26]

"One Blood"

Sewall's 1700 *Selling of Joseph* began with the point that Africans shared the same blood as did all people descended from the first man, Adam. God had "made of One blood, all Nations of men."[27] His reference to the monogenesis of humankind—broadly speaking, the belief that all humans shared a single origin because God had created them from one source, with one blood—indicated that he believed English colonists shared some common ground with Africans. Nor was Sewall unusual in espousing such a belief. Although there were some Christian theorists who argued for multiple creations before the creation of Adam, polygenist interpretations remained a fringe heretical belief among seventeenth-century Protestants and Catholics.[28]

More than two decades after Sewall's publication of *Selling of Joseph*, Cotton Mather made the same biblical allusion regarding one blood connecting all people. In 1723, Mather wrote, "Are Negros treated as those, that are of one Blood with us, and those that have Immortal Souls in them, and are not meer Beasts of Burden?" Entirely comfortable with enslaving Africans, he wanted to ensure that owners did not neglect the religious education of their slaves. For Mather, the existence of Africans' souls meant only that the English should follow, as he put it in his slightly earlier *India Christiana*, the "Charitable Design of *Christianizing* the *Negro's*" as a way to fulfill millenarian expectations of the precursors for Christ's return, not that they needed to change their physical treatment of their slaves.[29]

The tension between European Christian belief in a single creation and associating non-Europeans with animals appeared more frequently in English accounts as colonization of the Americas and the transatlantic slave trade developed in tandem. As Jennifer Morgan has argued, European explorers' association of African and Indian women with aggressive sexuality helped to justify the appropriation of their bodies to European ends, whether as the target of sexual attacks or labor demands. While sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English writers generally operated within a premise of monogenesis, their concentration on their interpretations of the physicality of African women's bodies led them to emphasize African women's beastly and monstrous qualities. One widely circulated, translated, and plagiarized description by Pieter de Marees described a typical mother in "the golden kingedom of Guinea" as having "dugs" which she could stretch "backeward over her shoulder" in order to breast-feed a child being carried "at her backe."[30]

European observations of Native and African women referenced the idea of a single creation of humanity when they took up the issue of how much pain Native and African women experienced in childbirth as compared to European women. The degree of pain in childbirth signaled women's link to God's curse upon Eve for having eaten the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden. Although the English bookseller John Dunton embellished or borrowed some of the narrative of his travels in late seventeenth-century New England, his description of a newly postpartum Native woman would have rung true for English readers on both sides of the Atlantic precisely because it confirmed their expectations and echoed similar things they had read. After seeing "an Indian Woman walking by the door, with a Child at her Back, whom our Landlord told us, had not been deliver'd above Two Days," Dunton concluded that "the Curse laid uppon Women of bringing forth Children in Sorrow, is mightily moderated to the INDIAN WOMEN . . . than [to] most of our European Women," a difference he laid to "their extraordinary Labour in the Field, as carrying of mighty Burdens, and beating their Corn in a Mortar, &c." He did not refer directly to their spiritual state, but his emphasis on their heavy physical tasks invoked the stereotype of the drudgery forced on Native women by lazy Native men who did not perform masculine English tasks such as farming.[31] Dunton acknowledged the similarity between Native and European women as daughters of Eve by allowing that Native women experienced "the Curse laid uppon Women of bringing forth Children in Sorrow." However, his subsequent concentration on the startling mildness of Native women's pain

in childbirth and the physical drudgery of their daily tasks attenuated that kinship.

Later-eighteenth-century European observers combined these two strains of argument to reinforce each other and break the link of common origins, presenting Indian and African women as free from childbirth pain because they were closer to beasts than humans. According to Edward Long in his mid-1770s *History of Jamaica*: "Their women are delivered with little or no labour; they have therefore no more occasion for midwifes than the female oran-outang, or any other wild animal. . . . Thus they seem exempted from the course inflicted upon Eve and her daughters." Linking bodily experience to spiritual state, late eighteenth-century European writers more frequently placed Native and African women outside the daughters of Eve.[32] Such a stark association of Africans with animals and a denial of their Christian kinship was historically situated and developed over time as a regenerating and reinforcing rhetoric of colonization and the slave trade.

"Cursed three times over"

As with the parsing of a differential effect of Eve's curse of pain in childbirth, the curse of Ham was another attempt to find a scriptural explanation for observed difference in physical and social bodies. Europeans mobilized the story of Ham and Canaan to explain two different characteristics of Africans: skin color and enslavement. They based their interpretations of the curse on a short biblical account of the patriarch Noah's family after their time in the ark that had saved them from the great flood covering the earth. A few verses in Genesis relate that Noah cursed his grandson Canaan in retribution for Ham's laughing at the sight of Noah drunk and naked instead of covering him as two of Noah's other sons, Shem and Japhet, did. Christian and Jewish writers variously referred to the curse, originally named "Canaan's curse" by early Christian exegetes, as an explanation of Africans' sexuality, skin color, and enslavement. Medieval Iberian writers linked the concept instead to Islam rather than Africa.[33]

The intellectual history of skin color as a mode of assigning and understanding difference and undergirding ethnocentrism has roots in the ancient world and iterations in centuries since, but authorities were far from unified on the meaning of skin color. Some of the passages scholars most often point to as evidence of a continual preference for white over black had contested readings. For example, in the King James

Version, Jeremiah 13:23 reads, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" In the original context, it is to Kushites that Jeremiah referred, a place-based term that did not carry implied blackness. But in Greek mistranslations, "Kushite" became "Ethiopian" and drew on the Hellenistic black-white polarity of skin color.[34] For medieval Christians, Noah's cursing of Ham most often meant alienation from God and thus a predisposition to sinful practices for those peoples thought to be descended from Ham's line. Some held that Kush, one of Ham's four sons and born before Noah's curse, had black skin because his mother had been particularly struck by the color while carrying him, not because he inherited his father's punishment. The curse of Ham was not a major component of pre-nineteenth-century discourse about slavery. Often when writers mentioned the idea, it was only to dismiss it.[35]

Among English writers, George Best had a widely circulated but scripturally suspect 1578 account that Noah cursed Ham because he had broken the prohibition against sexual intercourse while on the ark. Best explained the blackness of Africans' skin, which he likely had never seen, with his version of the curse of Ham based on sexual transgression, and made the "lothsome" condition hereditary for "all his posteritie after him." But his version was unusual. Most accounts drew on a single creation for all humans even as they attempted to parse the inward meaning of physical distinctions.[36] The English traveler Richard Jobson's conjecture that African men encountered during his 1620–21 travels in West Africa had "such members as are after a sort burthensome unto them" as a consequence of Ham's view of his father's genitals stands out in the European printed record for its concentration on men's anatomy and sexuality rather than women's. Africans' sexuality as a consequence of the curse of Ham most interested Jobson, however, not Best's construction of a physical mark of sin to be passed down from generation to generation. Moreover, Jobson, like many European travelers, noted what he saw as parallels between the practices and beliefs of Africans and Christian teachings such as stories of a first man and woman and a great flood that covered the earth. Such appearances among non-Christian people not only confirmed the universality of Christianity for the European observer, but they also represented Africans as having a hereditary, if scrambled, knowledge of God and status as descendants of the same creation.[37]

Key figures in English colonization disagreed on the effects of the curse of Ham. George Sandys, who was a shareholder in both the Bermuda and Virginia Companies, specified the curse of Ham as applied to

Ham's son Chus and explicitly denied the environmental influences of climatic humoralism as the cause of human black skin color. He did so not because he rejected the general effect of environment on individuals but because Africans in other regions of the world never seemed to "grow to better complexion," which they should have done if skin color came from the "heate of the climate" or "of the soile."[38] However, Robert Boyle, the natural philosopher who was a patron of puritan missionary activities to Indians in New England and in Virginia, argued against blackness as a consequence of Noah's curse on Ham. He pointed to the need to find a "Proper, Immediate, and physical Cause of the Jetty Colour of *Negroes*," as well as to scriptural evidence that the curse was for Ham to be "a very Abject Servant to his Brethren." The Israelites' dominance over the Canaanites fulfilled that condition, and so the curse did not explain the contemporary enslavement of Africans. Moreover, Boyle wrote that blackness was not self-evident as a curse, since there were "Black Nations, who think so much otherwise of their own condition, that they paint the Devil White." Neither did black skin cause an individual to fail European standards of beauty, which "consists not so much in Colour, as an Advantageous Stature, a Comely Symmetry of the parts of the Body, and Good Features in the Face."[39]

The curse was not a major component of arguments over slavery in early eighteenth-century New England.[40] Sewall objected to the curse of Ham as a justification for enslaving Africans on two grounds. The first was to question the validity of slavery as part of such a curse and whether it might not be "long since out of Date?" He also addressed disputes over Africans' biblical ancestry, expounding that "*Canaan* is the Person Cursed three times over, without the mentioning of *Cham*." Africans' skin color denoted their descent from Kush, who had been born before the curse. While Sewall noted that Africans "time out of mind have been distinguished by their Colour," he disconnected that inherited skin color from any curse.[41] John Saffin's reply sidestepped the issue of the curse of Ham as a justification for African slavery. He declined to comment on their descent in favor of justifying the enslavement of "not only the seed of *Cham* or *Canaan*, but any lawful Captives of other Heathen Nations." Saffin, although heartily in favor of enslaving Africans, did not base his support for the institution on a connection between slavery and the curse of Ham.[42]

As did most puritans and most English, Cotton Mather believed firmly in the social hierarchy, that some were meant to serve while others ruled, "even in this very congregation." Any enslaved individuals

who refused to "be such Orderly Servants" faced "intollerable Blows and Wounds" for eternity. But superior and inferior remained linked as people of God and potential recipients of grace. Africans' purported status as "the Offspring of *Cham*" was "yet . . . not so very certain." They might be "Wretched *Negroes*" in Mather's opinion, but Christ was the "*Sun of Righteousness*" and his "more Benign *Beams*" could heal the minds of "they that have been Scorched and Blacken'd by the Sun of *Africa*." The internal damage wrought by the celestial body of the sun was no match for the powers of the spiritual body of Christ. For Mather, Africans' skin color was probably the result of "the small *Fibres* of their *Veins*, and the blood in them, being a little more Interspersed thro their Skin, than other People," a physical change that had come from the effects of a specific physical environment, as well as from maternal influence. Regardless of its cause, God "is not moved by the color of the skin" but "*looks on the Heart*." Mather scoffed, "As if none but *Whites* might hope to be Favoured and Accepted with God!" He noted that in comparison to "many others," Africans and English are "more nearly *Related*," thus sketching out a closer kinship between them than simply that of the broad unity of humanity.[43]

Officials in Bermuda also avoided the curse of Ham as an explanation for perceived African difference, even in response to a planned rebellion. When some enslaved black Bermudians conspired to rebel against their white masters in January 1673/4, Governor John Heydon turned to a biblical referent in his proclamation condemning their "Barbarous and bloudie designe," but his choice was not Noah and his sons. Instead, he reminded the colonists that "they may reade in holie writt that Caine murthered his brother Abel, upon whome God sett a marke that none might slay him." Heydon thus condemned the planned actions of the conspirators by comparing them to Cain's fratricide. At the same time, he warned "disorderly persons" among the English colonists that any private action taken to kill the convicted would be "a bloudy fact" and "against ye Law of God & ye King." The only two conspirators to be executed were the "two that had rid the horses." The court later slit the nostrils of some of the convicted, including Argee, Frank, Kitt, Hercules, and Tom, and branded their foreheads with an "R," actions Heydon justified through analogy to God's mark on Cain.[44] That analogy carried a suggestion that the English king, through the Bermudian court as his representative, was like God in his administration of justice.[45]

By referring to the accused rebels as Cain, Heydon likened their actions to the murder of a guiltless younger brother. In Heydon's construction,

the English were both powerful God and blameless younger brother; they could appoint punishment while simultaneously being wholly innocent of any wrongdoing that might have inspired the slaves' uprising. Heydon's remark also indicated that enslaved Africans and Indians descended from Adam: their crime did not stem from any curse of Ham, but was the deliberate action of brother murdering brother. Perhaps he felt that as slaves to Bermuda's elite, they should have known better.[46] In the governor's estimation, the infliction of severe physical disfigurement and branding were scripturally justified. Heydon acknowledged the common origin of elite white Bermudians and rebelling Bermudians of color when he labeled the action of cutting and burning human flesh as "Cain is markt." It is doubtful that the men so scarred would have taken any comfort in Heydon's notation of such distant kinship, a reference the ones who had grown up in the heavily catechized households of Bermuda probably understood.

"Baptized into one bodie, whether wee bee . . . bond or free"

The idea that some kind of sameness existed among the members of a transformed body of Christ, who could be different in kind and characteristic yet still share in one body through baptism, was a disruptive concept. Not only did it present a countervailing model to an innate hierarchy based on body parts, the existence of a strain of egalitarian relations among members of the body created an opportunity for some Natives and Africans to make claims on what they saw as a congruently mapped body politic. Spiritual freedom had never meant automatic physical freedom in Christian doctrine. Centuries of Christian intellectual traditions distinguished between spiritual freedom through conversion and physical slavery, and held that the two were fully compatible states. Natives and enslaved Africans in many English colonies sketched out their own lineaments of these corporate bodies, declaring that political membership was linked to, and did follow from, spiritual membership. Wampanoags on Noepe (Martha's Vineyard) used the new forms of spiritual practice to help maintain their autonomy in the face of colonial pressures on their lands, laws, and governance.[47]

In Protestant seventeenth-century slave-owning societies, enslaved and baptized individuals who pushed for the physically emancipatory potential of baptism often referred to 1 Corinthians 12:13: "For by one spirit are we all baptized into one bodie, whether wee bee Jewes or Gentiles, whether wee bee bond or free: and have beene all made to drinke

into one spirit," arguing that the action of becoming one body transformed the diverse natures of the members ("Jewes or Gentiles . . . bond or free") into "one spirit."[48] That interpretation did not sit well with slave owners and English officials, many of whom began to oppose the baptism of enslaved people. Ministers of some churches often emphasized that baptism did not grant freedom in this world and that Christianity made enslaved people more docile, although the arguments could get quite complex, particularly when clergy themselves were slave owners.[49] In Bermuda, Governor Heydon framed baptism as making the enslaved "obliged to a more strict bond" to their masters.[50] Enslaved Bermudians did not agree with his interpretation and presented so many petitions for freedom directly to him and to the colony's council that he decreed they first had to apply to their local justices.

Enslaved individuals continued to press for freedom based on their membership in the body of Christ. English colonial governments responded by passing acts specifying that baptism did not grant freedom. In addition to Bermuda, six colonies passed such legislation between 1664 and 1706. The New England colonies were not among them, although in 1694 a group of clergy requested that Massachusetts have such an act so that owners would be more willing to encourage their slaves to be baptized.[51] The push to equate baptism and freedom did not exist in the same way in southern New England Native communities. While many Natives were in long-term indentured servitude and multigenerational debt relationships with English creditors, the legal assumption was still that they were free in the sense of not being chattel slaves. Even after African men married into Native villages in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, making the children of Native mothers and African fathers prone to English classification as "mulatto" or "mustee" and therefore eligible for heritable slavery, those children worked to prove their mothers' Native status as the means to avoid being enslaved.[52] English colonial slaveholders justified the enslavement of Natives with nominal reference to the doctrine that permitted the taking of slaves if the cause of the war was "just," although they did not enquire too deeply into the background of those they enslaved. Many Natives who were enslaved had often not been captured as enemies in battle. Such practices were part of a larger intersection between existing Native systems of slavery and their European counterparts, not only in the Northeast but throughout the Americas.[53]

Cotton Mather sidestepped these issues of the origin of enslavement and concentrated on dispelling any doubt that enslaved Africans had

souls and were potential Christians. Like many ministers, he aimed to reassure slave owners that membership in the body of Christ would not upset the ordering of the body politic where Africans labored for the English because Christian slaves would be better rather than worse workers. Agreeing in *The Negro Christianized* with what he perceived to be a common objection, "'Tis true, they are *Barbarous*," Mather continued, "[S]o were our own *Ancestors*. The *Britons* were in many things as *Barbarous*, but a little before the Saviours Nativity, as the Negros are at this."[54] Mather was careful to place English barbarity far in the past, but with this comparison he included Africans in the same religious framework. The English and Africans were at least part of God's same creation of humankind, but that creation was a hierarchy in which some were benevolent masters and others were faithful servants.

Addressing slave owners directly, Mather noted, "You take them into your *Families*; you look on them as part of your *Possessions*." Because African and African-descended slaves lived within the family household structure, their unconverted status served as a threat to the religious organization of that family. This description was accurate in that most enslaved people in New England lived in a household with only one or two other slaves, if any. Rhode Island and Providence Plantations contained larger holdings, but plantation-style agriculture there had not yet reached the scale it would by the mid-eighteenth century.[55] In 1715/6, Mather noted the presence of "*Negros* as well as Indians" in many families in "the southern part of the Massachusetts province," a situation that demanded catechizing efforts on the part of those families.[56] One of Mather's diary entries recorded such a resolve regarding "my Negro-Servant, Obadiah; my Saviour has committed him unto me, that I may bring him up to be a Servant of the Lord."[57] In a belief system in which the stability and biblical purity of a society depended on the "little commonwealth" of the family, Mather's worry was far from extraneous.[58] For Mather, leaving Natives and Africans outside of the body of Christ even as they lived in the same households as the English would only lead to trouble.

The double use of the word "servant" in Cotton Mather's statement about Obadiah indicated the point of concern many slave owners had about baptizing the people they enslaved. If indeed individuals like Obadiah became "a Servant of the Lord," such a loyalty might take precedence over that due the earthly master of "my Negro-Servant." Puritan spiritual practice could be time intensive, which might take enslaved Africans away from their assigned duties. Another publication by the

prolific Mather, *Rules for the Society of Negroes*, addressed this problem. Members of the proposed society would, in Mather's rendering, meet between seven and nine at night "that we may not be *unseasonably Absent* from the Families whereto we pertain." They would also "avoid all *Wicked Company*" and admonish and then exclude those who "fall into" various sins, which included "notorious *Disobedience* or *Unfaithfulness* unto their Master." Moreover, they would help apprehend "any other Negro-Servants in the Town" who ran away, and would expel any of their members who aided a fugitive. One could not be a faithful body in this society without being an obedient servant.[59]

The control and disposition of African bodies was a key point of ministerial discussion of missionary efforts, but texts such as Mather's *Rules* also contain other narratives about African Christians. In one reading, Mather's *Rules* communicated only his fear of disorderly African bodies, especially when gathered together, and his desire that they remain primarily faithful servants of their earthly masters. African Christians were threatening to Mather and other English puritans because, in addition to ignoring their duties, they might plan revolts if they congregated outside of their masters' control.[60] But if we move beyond the starkly present body of the text and search for the "hidden transcript" of histories that remain just out of reach of the documentary records, we find figures lurking beyond the bounds of the broadside—or rather those functioning as the almost hidden watermark worked into the fibers bearing the lettered outlines of the *Rules*—African Christians who wished to meet for worship, or who already were meeting and had had trouble from some of their masters.[61] While Mather may have fabricated the conversation in which an enslaved African asked him for his help in establishing a prayer meeting, there were individuals who could have made that request. Cutting off that possibility artificially occludes some of the options available to enslaved and free Africans in Boston and in New England more generally. Familiar with objections to their meetings, they may have foreseen the need to reassure the owners of potential members that performing their duties as members of the body of Christ would not interfere with their physical duties in their owners' households.

Abstract ideas about the body affected notions of how people were supposed to live together and interact with one another, and of how people were meant to exist in relative space. Moreover, the ways that people thought about physical bodies were linked to their beliefs about spiritual organization. In the seventeenth century, English Christians believed that

an individual's body could reveal her or his spiritual state. Like other Europeans, they searched for a universal language of bodies in their encounters—real or imagined—with Africans and indigenous people of the Americas.[62] Although everyone started from an embodied experience of a physical form, the English tried to parse the meaning of the bodies of those they encountered, frequently finding differences. But despite these differences, the English in New England and Bermuda still considered Indians and Africans to be potential members of the body of Christ. To return to John Saffin, who expressed his biting opinions of Africans in verse, even he assumed that they could become Christian and that such an attitude, like his support of slavery, would be common sense to his audience.

The incorporation of dissimilar bodies into what was supposed to be a unified body of Christ posed a fundamental challenge to English puritans in New England and in Bermuda. That challenge came from Europeans, including English Quakers and Irish Catholics, as well as from Christian southern Algonquians and Bermudians of color who challenged English notions of civility and the alignment of Christianity and complexion. The next four chapters analyze how their bodily performances created alternate spaces that cut across English puritan definitions of the body of Christ and the body politic. In responding to their encounters with these other logics and layers of meaning, English puritans further articulated their concept of faithful bodies, their proper conduct, and what (or who) properly belonged bounded within and without.

5 / "Makinge a tumult in the congregation"

At the end of January 1672/3, Bermudians assembled in Devonshire Church, called there by the governor who had proclaimed a special day of fasting and prayer. A day of humiliation, as seventeenth-century puritanism termed the practice, was a community action meant to direct members to meditate on the "wrath of a just God" and to renew their spiritual resolve to act in godly ways. The governor likely hoped for a somber, reflective day when Bermudians sat and listened to the words of the minister, William Edwards, quiet except for the occasional cough, the rustling of clothing, and perhaps muffled stamping as people tried to warm stiffening limbs against the raw dampness of a Bermudian winter day. While nothing like the cold of more northern climes, the high level of humidity made Bermuda's winter weather chilling even through multiple layers of clothing. Perhaps some of Edwards's listeners, which would have included enslaved Bermudians of color as well as free white Bermudians, felt, as the governor did, a "deep sence and fellow feiling of the general missereyes of Christendom by reason of a sharpe warr between England & their neigbors of the United Provinces, occasioned by their insolenties."[1] They could have worried that the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–74) in Europe might spread to touch the island's shores and did indeed wait to hear from the minister what message God was sending them through such events. However, others may have been too distracted by the chafing of perpetually damp fabric against their skin to concentrate fully on the minister's words, or they may simply have welcomed the opportunity to sit still for a while.

A sudden disturbance suggested that there might be "general misser-eyes" that lay closer to home. A visitor to the island, Elizabeth Carter, suddenly spoke across the minister's words, the very interruption an unusual event in and of itself. The import of her words was still more astonishing: she corrected Edwards's scriptural summary. As the Quaker chronicler Joseph Besse later described the event, the minister had "in his Discourse concerning Mordecai and Haman, so far mistook his Subjett, as to tell his Auditory that Mordecai was hanged, upon which the said Elizabeth told him, that it was Haman."[2] As Carter opened her mouth to correct Edwards, she might have thought of a now better-known Quaker woman, Mary Dyer, whom the Massachusetts General Court executed in 1660 for defying her exile from the colony. More than a simple connection by virtue of gender or religious inclination, Dyer's letter to the General Court after her sentencing also invoked the biblical Book of Esther in which Mordecai, along with other Jews, suffered Haman's persecution but with Esther's help eventually brought him to justice. Dyer reversed typical reformed Protestant typology to liken puritan authorities to the corrupt Haman and herself and other Quakers to the ultimately triumphant Mordecai and Queen Esther.[3]

Without speaking any further, Carter—joined by Bermudian Quakers Parnell Wilkinson and William White—continued to stand for the rest of Edwards's sermon. The records do not state how much longer the minister preached in the face of the silent confrontation, but when he had finished, Carter once again "began to speak to the People." Edwards called out for church officers, who dragged Carter away "with much Violence, so that they had almost deprived her of Breath." The sheriff later took all three Quakers into custody for disturbing Edwards "in the tyme of his preaching, and afterwards and makeing a tumult in the congregation."[4]

How and why Carter, Wilkinson, and White made a tumult is not as obvious as it may appear at first glance, especially if we center their challenge to the puritan body of Christ in a framework that draws on Quaker rather than puritan categories and logic. By the time the three Quakers protested Edwards's teachings in Bermuda in 1672, such starkly disruptive acts had become less frequent than in the previous two decades as some leaders of the movement worked to restrain such behavior in a defensive attempt against mounting opposition from other English Christians. At least some of the changes in performance were linked to a theological move away from leader George Fox's radical ideas about the union between Christ's physical body and the individual bodies

of believers. But even as the majority of—although not all, as Carter, Wilkinson, and White demonstrated—Quakers moved away from the most extreme concept of the celestial inhabitation of Christ in every believer, critics kept the influence of that belief alive through the publication and circulation of anti-Quaker tracts.[5]

The nature of that tumult was multilayered and reached far beyond the immediate interruption of one service of one congregation on a tiny island. It was not necessarily an appreciative one as Quakers in Bermuda and elsewhere experienced violent attacks and legal persecutions in retaliation for their disruptions of religious services as well as their contraventions of social modesty norms. Female traveling ministers inspired particular expressions of vitriol because their geographical movement and public action contravened puritan and general English ideas of proper female behavior and deferment to male authority.[6] Quaker bodily performances and ideology disrupted puritan configurations of spiritual and political community, although exactly how they did so changed from the movement's beginnings in the early 1650s to the emergence of Quaker respectability in the early eighteenth century. An initially radical concept of divine and human union led them to contravene particular conventions of gendered behavior even as they continued to participate in slaveholding and the articulation of racial difference as inherited, inborn characteristics.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Quakers had become part of the social establishment in several places including Rhode Island, Barbados, and Pennsylvania, assisted by the Toleration Act of 1689 as well as the tightening royal control of the colonies that demanded accommodation of all Christian subjects.[7] The decrease in the persecution of Quakers in the puritan Atlantic by the early eighteenth century fits into broader patterns of hardening racial boundaries that elevated skin color and perceived attendant and inherent characteristics over religious affiliation as a factor for creating and maintaining difference. Imperial law and administration that promulgated and enforced the legal toleration of all Christians was one factor in the change, but there were several others as well. Substantially external to the movement, the growing economic power of Quakers who made religious connections into powerful trading networks and changes in puritan understandings of the relationship between church and state lessened puritan perceptions of Quakers as a destabilizing, corrupting force. As, if not more, significant, was an internal impetus: a concerted effort from within Quaker ranks by leaders who drew back from the more radical body theology and performance that

had marked the movement's first decade to reassert social differences within their ranks.[8]

The disruptions created by Quaker bodies in the puritan Atlantic did not lessen as the result of any significant change in practice or rhetoric explicitly regarding Africans and Indians. While a few Quaker leaders did come to suggest by the mid-1670s what one scholar has termed "covenant slavery" in which manumission would be the reward for long and faithful service, such a stance was not unique to the Society of Friends. A handful of individuals in the puritan and Church of England establishments made similar arguments.[9] As did other English, throughout this period Quakers fully participated in the linking of inherent and hereditary differences to varying hues of skin color and in the operation and continuation of racialized unfree labor, both in their direct claims over the bodies of enslaved Africans and indentured Indians and through their prominence in Atlantic trade routes organized around the demands of the transatlantic slave trade.

We do not know which Bermudians of color witnessed Carter's interruption that day, nor did any record their thoughts about Quaker practices compared to the more familiar puritan ones. But the majority of them who had been born in Bermuda may well have been catechized enough to be familiar with the story of Esther, Mordecai, and Haman. In that case, they could have had yet another interpretation in which they saw their masters, Quaker or puritan, as the persecuting Haman and hoped for their own emancipation as Mordecai's eventual triumph. Whether or not they incorporated the newer teachings, enslaved individuals posed a challenge to Quaker articulations of the material effects of spiritual transformation. In Bermuda, George Garrett responded to that challenge by spreading a rumor in 1669 that enslaved Bermudians would be freed at the next militia mustering, but a more frequent reaction among white Bermudian Quakers was to continue owning human property.[10]

While Quaker thought itself did not contain any absolute contradiction between spiritual freedom and physical slavery, the possible conjunction of the two outlined the limits of what was supposed to be a close connection between the immanence of the divine presence and the transformation of the material world. Bermudians of color marked the margins of the spiritual community and the social limits of the Quakers' comparatively expansive doctrine of the discoverable divine within each individual. They did so not only through their enslaved bodies but through their purposeful interactions and perhaps even conversations, practices and performances that are less legible at a distance but no less

significant than those exchanges preserved in pamphlet wars between Quakers and their puritan opponents.

"Terrible shakings and quaking"

Quakers upset the godly order of puritan society by proclaiming—loudly, often, and, especially in the years soon after the movement's beginnings in the late 1640s, with a keen sense of theater—its corrupt ways and its deadening to sin. They intentionally used their physical bodies to disrupt what they saw as the complacency of a false body of Christ among people who were going through the outward motions of faith without truly being inhabited by spiritual force in the form of Christ's Light or Spirit. An individual walking through a town's streets or into its meetinghouse naked or clothed only in sackcloth and ashes served as a moving, breathing sign of the spiritual nakedness of all before God as well as of the corrupt ways of society, performances that were sure to arouse the ire of the general English population and officials. For Quakers, the shared Light is what bound their community, placing their body of Christ even further from the hierarchy of the body politic than that of less radical dissenters.[11]

Quaker emphasis on the Light of Christ within each person led them to shun many of the rites of deference and some of the gender roles expected in day-to-day hierarchical early modern English social relations—not doffing one's hat in the presence of officials, for example. The emphasis on speaking truth at all times led to Friends' avoidance of social niceties such as wishing someone "good day" or "fare well." If someone had not become convinced of the Light within, their day would be evil and not good, and expressing good wishes for evil deeds condoned such actions. To outsiders, theirs was a disordered body politic because the various members did not know and keep their particular places and functions.[12]

Friends' bodily conduct in their own meetings, especially in the early years of the movement, posed as much of a challenge to puritan performances of worship as did more theatrical incidents. While outwardly not always that different, the intention and meaning of the apparently similar faithful bodies were quite divergent. In either location, individuals would have kept silent for much of the time designated for communal worship. Men and women were both expected to maintain physical stillness, although puritan men were more likely to be taking notes on the sermon. In Quaker meetings, when someone spoke words relating

to divine matters, listeners knelt or stood. Rather than kneeling, sitting was the posture puritan minister John Cotton recommended for reception of the bread and wine during the key ritual of the Lord's Supper because it signified church members' position as "co-sessors" with Christ.[13] That task would have been more onerous at some times of the year than others; winter meetings in unevenly heated buildings meant that those seated far from the chimneys or fireplaces would have worn many layers of clothes in an attempt to ward off the inevitable shivering of muscles made stiff from lack of movement on hard benches and perhaps quiet attempts to wiggle the toes and move the feet to delay their numbing from the cold.[14] In summer heat, mopping the beads of sweat rolling down the face might have been permissible, but no amount of shifting could produce enough moving air to lighten the many layers of clothing demanded by English norms of modesty.[15]

Words filled the air during puritan services as the minister expounded on scriptural verses, often from memory or with minimal notes, so puritan congregants experienced a service filled with the sound of the human voice, albeit one working to convey divine direction.[16] In contrast, Friends sat with all in silence, seeking to discern God's voice within. Even once Quakers developed a systematized practice that recognized and authorized some individuals as ministers through a formal examination by the business meeting, much of the meeting might take place in silence. When ministers in the Society of Friends felt moved to speak, they might continue for an hour or more at a time after removing their hats and kneeling. Women might be among those who preached (figure 5.1).[17] By the mid-eighteenth century, outsiders commented on the "singing" cadence of delivery, with repetition of words and short phrases interspersed with "sobs." Although detailed descriptions of Quaker preaching are scarce, late seventeenth-century critiques of the style of Quaker delivery suggest that some elements of singsong intonation were already prevalent. Puritan minister Samson Bond jeered at William Bullock's "*Lowing* and *Bellowing*," while John Faldo castigated "the Quakers Preachers" and their "dismal noises whose eccho remained" in the ears of their audience.[18]

Even after formal recognition of some individuals as ministers, the architecture of Quaker meetinghouses supported their differing conception of the gathered body in comparison with the structures built by other dissenting Protestants. Quaker buildings tended to be circular, and even when there was an internal raised platform upon which elders or recognized gifted teachers sat, the shape of the building reflected sound

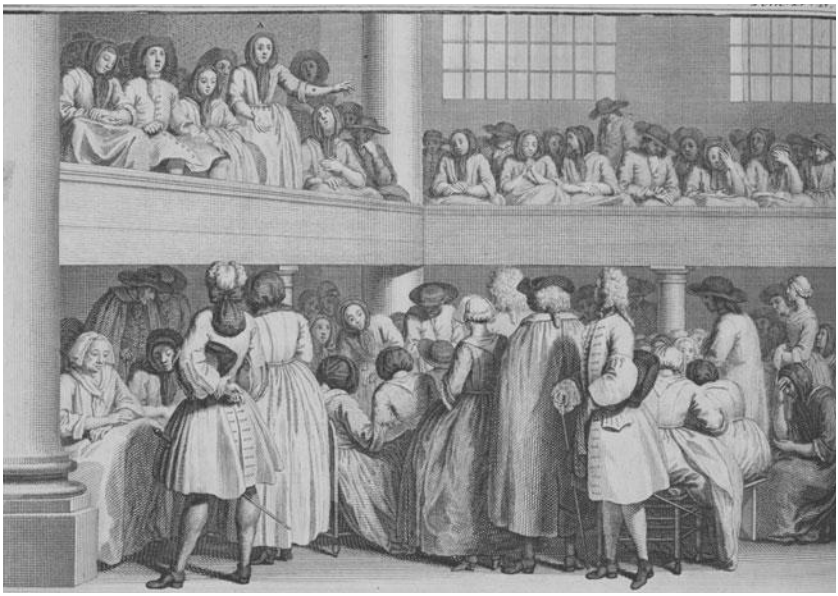

Figure 5.1. Critics of the Society of Friends often commented on their practice of female as well as male preachers. The depiction of a woman preaching to men and women would have been a jarring sight for many readers of this book, calling for an explanation. The label for "A" read "Quakeresse qui préche" (Female Quaker who preaches). *Assemblée des Quaquers à Londres*, Jean Frederic Bernard, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, illus. Bernard Picart, vol. 4 (Amsterdam, 1736), after p. 131. For a scholarly digitized edition, see http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/picart/.

equally from all areas of seating. In contrast, the structure of puritan meetinghouses emphasized the unique role of the trained minister by amplifying his single voice and aiming it over the heads of the seated congregation while muffling any noise from below.[19]

The significance of sitting silently was quite different for Quakers than for puritans. Quakers worked in silence for the abrogation of self-control in favor of the immediate moving of the divine that might include transgression of social norms regarding bodily movement, while puritans silently listened to the minister, aiming to exercise bodily control so that they might remain aware of their own sinfulness and sensitive to the slightest impression of God's grace on their souls. The potential for, and acceptance of, socially disordered body movements as inspired

by God—such as falling to the ground, writhing, excretions and purgings of various kinds, and abrupt vocalizations—separated Friends' early worship services from those of their critics, as well as from later Quaker practices. In 1667, Quaker Patrick Livingstone attempted to convince his readers that "the mighty motions of the bodies of Friends are ceased, and Friends are still and cool, and quiet," yet meetings retained their spiritual power because such "terrible shakings and quaking of Friends bodies" had only been "to purge out sin, and to bring to stillness, coolness and calmness of mind" as when "physick is given to the body."[20] He argued that the bodily performances were a temporary stage while Friends purged sinfulness from their bodies, rather than being a result of direct connection with the divine.

Quakers crossed the boundary between seen and unseen more easily than did puritans, but they remained on guard that individuals might be overcome by worldly pride and tried to discern if others acted on a clear understanding of their sensory encounter with the Light. Thus when John Toldervy moved from pulling off, breaking, and throwing away clothing accessories denoting rank, including "Buttons that I judged were unneccesary on my Coat," to keeping his leg in a open fire until he was badly burned and piercing his thumbs to the bone with a large needle, Friends told him his actions were "of the darkness" and to stop giving in to the temptations.[21] The difference between Quakers and their puritan critics lay not with a differing belief in the ability of forces in the unseen world to affect both the material world and individuals' souls in discernible ways, but with conflicting opinions about the likely positive or malevolent orientation of those forces. Toldervy's account was not sensitive to this distinction, however, as it aimed to frame all Quaker activity as stemming from "their own Wills, under a pretence of God's Will," warning his readers to avoid such "Seducings and Temptations." But even in his narrative of a narrow escape from those "evil Seducers," Toldervy did not dispute that nonmaterial beings had manifested themselves and done things to his body; rather, he confessed his mistaken perception that those beings had been of divine rather than demonic origin.[22]

"Flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone"

The shift away from dramatic physical displays was more than a defensive response to outside attack or an indication of the power of puritan notions of body control. It also came from disagreements among Quakers over what and who a "faithful" body was, what filled

it with faith, and how one acted. Quaker leader George Fox repeatedly turned to the scriptural phrase "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone" to describe believers as part of Christ's body. In *The Man Christ Jesus the Head of the Church*, Fox wrote, "[H]is Church comes to be Members of his Body, *and Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone*."[23] Fox's explication of the phrase at other times makes it clear that he understood it to articulate what one Quaker scholar has called the "inhabitation" of Christ in each believer so that individual human bodies attained union with the "celestial flesh" of the body of Jesus.[24] Like the Massachusett construction of the body as a covering for the essence of a person, Fox framed Christ's "carnall" body as an "outward garment" for the "glorious," "heavenly," and "sprituall body." So, too, each person had a spiritual body, and it is that inward body that achieved union with the celestial flesh of Christ. A child born of a woman who had achieved such union was born without sin. At a public dispute with ministers in 1658, Fox contended, "Christs body that is in heaven is a glorious body, and not carnall, nor of the flesh corruptable." He placed the split not between physical skin, hair, teeth, limbs, and the soul but between a carnally oriented aspect of an individual's being and an unseen spiritual essence. He argued, "[S]o there is a spiritual body, and there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual man, and there is a natural man, and each hath their body."[25] Both were different types of bodies, not opposites of one another.

By the 1670s, internal contestations over Quaker theology of the body resulted in a general acceptance of a more orthodox interpretation of the temporality of Christ's physical presence as in the past and in the future, no longer always already taking place in each individual who opened him- or herself to the inward divine. An influential group of Quaker leaders in favor of a less embodied theology gained control of the movement's message even as George Fox continued to publish his own belief that convinced Friends became perfected through the union of their spiritual bodies with Christ's heavenly body. The Second Day Morning Meeting in London, part of the governing structure Fox had helped establish to promote cohesion within the movement, took on the role of approving all Quaker publications, censoring those that retained too strong a flavor of the ecstatic or the immediacy of revelation in dreaming. After Fox's death in 1691, Robert Barclay and second-generation Quakers stepped up their efforts to reinterpret Fox's statements about union with Christ as having figurative meaning only, a reframing that continues to influence current scholarship.[26]

Neither Fox's notion of celestial flesh nor more moderate Quakers' emphasis on indwelling Light erased all distinctions between believers as they interacted in the material world. Several internal controversies over practice in the early movement demonstrated the continued existence of some hierarchical differences among members. Fox worked to assert unity regarding body posture during prayer as well as to regularize meetings and define women's and men's particular roles. Chastising men who would keep their hats on during prayer, he asked, "And doth not the Apostle reprove such men as pray covered, or would you have the women uncovered like the men, and so make no distinction in the sexes?"[27] This reference to the potential erasure of "distinction in the sexes" was meant to invoke the unimaginable, as Fox assumed Quaker men uneasy with uncovering their heads for prayer would be swayed by the suggestion that not to do so was tantamount to denying intrinsic differences between women and men. In his eyes and those of his supporters, reaffirming these gradations of status as well as a unity of body practice would help to define the Society of Friends as a separate people.

Other Quaker supporters of social difference, who included many women, also argued that such variations were a reflection of divine creation. For them, an admittedly smaller role in the movement did not mean the absence of a role. Isaac Penington urged Friends to "honour the Lord . . . in the differences which he hath made among the children of men and among his people" by supporting the creation of a separate women's meeting. His wife, Mary Penington, more specifically argued in favor of a separate women's meeting because it enabled women to take care of "services that are more proper for us than for the men, and to do some other services that are mean, and of less concern than is convenient to engage the men in." She made explicit her implicit devaluation of women's "services" as dealing with things of "less concern" than those of men when she compared women to parts of the body: "The men need not grudge us this place in the body, wherein we are meet helps, and usurp not authority over them, and act as the inferior parts of the body, being members, though but a finger or toe."[28] Men and women Friends might all be members of Christ's body, but membership meant neither equality nor commensurate authority—women acted as "the inferior parts" and were "a finger or toe" while men were the unspecified superior parts of the body. Separate meetings for women gave institutional existence to such rhetorical hierarchy and subordinated women's concerns into a special, "more proper" arena while men retained control of the general meetings. As several scholars have noted, women's meetings both

supported women's responsibility to be "mothers of Israel" and restricted their range of action, maintaining a gendered inequality of power.[29]

Throughout these theological and social shifts, bodies and their actions remained central on a number of levels. Disputes over the corporeal body of the historical Jesus were anything but abstract theological disputes. They affected and were a product of how people enacted and interpreted the experiences rooted in the reference point of their physical bodies, the visceral feeling of uncontrollably shaking limbs, the loss of control over one's power of speech, and conversely the meaning of stifling the urge to shift on a hard bench during a mostly silent meeting, the effort of swallowing a yawn or keeping sleepy eyes from closing and the head from bobbing. Arguments over the body reveal competing ideas among Quakers: was the outer body merely a garment for an inner being unified with Christ, whose every particle became one with the flesh and bone of the divine? Or was it all too carnal flesh that must remain ever drawn to sin until the return of Christ, an event that was still in the distant future? Different conceptions of the body thus also carried divergent understandings of time as well as competing schemes for how a Friend should move through the world and how the Society of Friends should organize itself.

"Being bit by such *infectious Teeth*"

A concern articulated by many opponents of the Society of Friends was that Quaker tenets were a dangerous contagion that could spread from person to person in a fatal spiritual disease. To combat this spread, ministers often undertook to debate Quakers publicly in the hopes of demonstrating the falsity of Quaker doctrine to the audience and protecting them from the corruption. Anti-Quaker pamphlets such as Roger Williams's *George Fox Digg'd Out of His Burrow* (1676) and Samson Bond's *A Publick Tryal of the Quakers in Barmudas* (1682) were textual elaborations on the confrontational performances in which ministers filled in additional examples and responses they claimed to have been interrupted in giving. In publishing their embellished refutations of the doctrines they found so distasteful, Williams and Bond not only furthered the circulation of the ideas, they helped maintain the memory and vitality of concepts and practices of the body that many Quaker leaders had turned against and repressed.[30]

Roger Williams's description of the spread of Quaker principles as "being bit by such *infectious Teeth*" suggests that he saw Quaker practice

and body belief not only as erroneous but also as a threat to the health of the body politic. Throughout *George Fox Digg'd*, Williams's discussion of and language about Quakers highlight his notion that their ideas and bodies resulted in a diseased social body as well as the pollution of the immortal soul.[31] For Williams, the problem was both with how Quakers, especially George Fox, conceived of the place of individual members of the corporate body of Christ and with the behavior of embodied Quakers. He charged that the "spirit" of Quaker "Religion tends mainly . . . to reduce persons from civility to Barbarisme." Quakers were so focused on the perfection of humans that they believed in "*no* God, no Christ, no Spirit, no Angel, no Devil, no Resurrection, no Judgement, no Heaven, no Hell, *but what is in man*." The idea that humans could reach perfection once united to, with, and in Christ, and at that point of immanence would require no government, was a recipe for "arbitrary Government." Quaker doctrine and practice thus posed a grave danger to civil society as well as to the eternal fate of humanity. Williams was also concerned about the demonstrations of Friends' immediate connection with divine power. He distinguished between his opponents and the "true Quakers" such as "*David, Moses*, and the *Corinths*," whose divinely inspired performances of "extraordinary" motion were recorded in Christian scripture. Williams had witnessed Friends' "casting their bodies into horrid and monstrous motions and Gestures," movement that came from "the frequent workings of *Sathan*." Williams also objected to Quaker nakedness, specifically of "your Women and Maidens" who in "that whorish and monstrous act" did "appear in publick (streets and assemblies) stark naked, &c."[32]

His work as a mediator in the Pequot War and as a trader had convinced him that Narragansetts and other Natives did indeed have some understanding of government, even if it was not the forms to which he was accustomed, as well as a certain sense, if misdirected, of the sacred.[33] This appreciation dimmed over time, but his espousal of universal moral qualities in Indians continued even after his shock at the Narragansett attack on Providence (that included the burning of his own house) and his work to enslave war captives, many of whom were noncombatants.[34] In 1681, he enumerated six principles "written in the hearts of all Mankind yea even in pagans," including "that there is a Deitie" and "that Mankind can not keepe together without Some Government."[35] He doubted the efficacy of the project to convert Indians not because they were hereditary heathens who lacked the "spiritual Patrimony" of Christianity, but because he believed their primary teacher, John Eliot,

to be fundamentally mistaken in his support of infant baptism and his emphasis on the efficacy of "parental Covenant" for anyone's conversion.[36] The difference between Williams's language when referring to Indians and to Quakers is striking, as is the radical disparity in how Quakers and Narragansetts felt the effects of Williams's assessment: the former discursively attacked in a vituperative pamphlet, and the latter wrested from place, kin, and freedom.

Samson Bond launched similar critiques in the published account of his 1678 debate with Bermuda's Quakers. In addition to complaining about his opponents' violence to the body of the Bible in their tendency "strangely to disorder, (nay to *dismember*) Scripture words," Bond objected to the way Quaker concepts of the body interwove "real, visible, humane (or man kind) flesh and blood" and "Mystical, Invisible flesh and blood." Also like Williams, he emphasized that his opponents "boldly teach" celestial inhabitation, "That he who made Heaven and Earth . . . is in each of your vile bodies," and he queried, "If the true Christ and only Saviour be in thee, in what part of thy body is he residing? That is to say, whether in thy Legs, Brains or Bowels?" As already noted, by the late 1670s and early 1680s, most Quaker teaching no longer emphasized an immanent union between believer and Christ.[37]

Through the circulation of their outdated portrayals of what they believed to be the spiritual errors and even heresies of Friends, puritan critics played a role in maintaining what they viewed to be a corrupting influence. Anti-Quaker tracts operated on two levels: first, as archives of an embodied performance and a perception of its local influence; and second, as texts and objects circulating in the Atlantic world that shaped and sustained a more disruptive body of Christ than had become general Quaker practice. Along with the criticism of outsiders such as Roger Williams and Samson Bond, a heavily edited verison of George Fox's *Journal* approved by the governing body of the Second Day Morning Meeting in London kept alive the awareness of the structural orthodoxy of prophetic bodily performance.[38]

"*Sufferings of the People Call'd Quakers*"

Even as critics focused on theatrical body performances, Quakers built their identity as a suffering people through quieter actions that nonetheless bound them together and disrupted puritan communities. Suffering was central to Quaker identity as a people struggling to distance themselves from the sins of the world. They appropriated the violence and

financial punishments against their members to frame them as persecution that confirmed and even defined their existence as a "suffering people." The three volumes of Joseph Besse's *An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People Call'd Quakers* (1733), a compendium of persecutions endured by Friends who had acted in witness of their faith, recorded and enacted this understanding of communal experience. The accounts detailed events ranging from physical torture of faithful Quaker bodies culminating in executions to the seizure of livestock or a few shillings.[39]

Besse's published volumes were only the most winnowed written record of Quaker sufferings. Monthly and quarterly meetings kept books of sufferings that recorded distrainments of goods and monetary fines for Quakers who failed to participate in militia training or attend religious services alongside those physically assaulted and even killed for their faith. In that proximity, the written record gave greater meaning to the more mundane experiences such as losing bolts of cloth or a wheel of cheese. It also altered and adapted the injurious practice of distrainment into a public and textual performance of their beliefs. Records of sufferings functioned as a cohesive element in the weekly local meeting, as well as connecting those meetings to Quakers around the Atlantic world. Even beyond the information contained in text and tallies, the activity of recording those losses placed individuals in relation to each other and to the wider Quaker community, mapping out a sense of sacred space and action.

A developing pacifism and peace testimony meant that many Quakers refused to participate in militia training, challenging order and defense in the wider community.[40] Beginning in the 1660s and irregularly strengthening over the next several decades, heads of household (overwhelmingly men, but including a few women) in English settlements throughout New England refused to participate in militia training days. Although a few were fined for failing to contribute to a minister's salary or not attending sabbath services, the overwhelming majority of entries were for absence from training, not carrying a weapon while on watch, or, for a widow, neglecting to arrange for someone to serve on her behalf. Abraham Chase articulated those grounds for refusal as "for Conscence sake it bing Contrary to Christs Comande: & the propheisie of the prophets wheare it is sayed the nation should not Lift up sword agaynst nation neither should They learne warr any more."[41] Although Chase explained his actions in 1698, his words expressed what had increasingly become the common interpretation of the peace testimony after King Philip's War.[42] Quakers made similar refusals in Bermuda. In 1660, the

Council in Bermuda admonished Francis Estlake for refusing to bear arms at militia training. The next refusal would result in being "bound necke and heeles together."[43] In 1673, William and Caleb Wilkinson, along with William White, were fined 10 shillings for failing to appear at a muster called by an alarm. They explained that their consciences prevented them from appearing, "for Christ sayth he that useth the sword shall perrish with the sword."[44]

When Quakers refused to pay the fine for missing training, outsiders read that action as a denial of community bonds and an abnegation of essential responsibilities. For Friends, however, it was a practice with its own ritual of absence from training, refusal to pay the fine, seizure of goods, and making a record of that seizure. Framing the passive acceptance of material loss as a performance of faith transformed the seizure of mundane work into a religious practice. Fines ranged from two to five shillings for each missed day, but the goods officials seized included pewter platters, cheeses, Holland shirts, livestock (including twelve sheep), various kinds of axes, and silk handkerchiefs; sometimes they returned with change, but often they did not.[45] The seizure of these items affected women and men, as the goods that were seized were the product of women's labor as well. Women traded cheese or made their own, and spun sheep's wool to trade for other goods or to be made into cloth.

The books of sufferings direct our attention to the acts of creation behind the seized products of labor, just as at the time they converted ephemeral experiences into an enduring testimony of positive witness. The accounts recognized women's steady toil of household production and indirectly linked that work to the spiritual labor of suffering even when they were not the ones choosing to be absent from a training. The overwhelming emphasis on not training as opposed to not attending services, however, obstructed women's full participation in this important ritual. The disestablishment of churches at the end of the seventeenth century meant that the primary route to this opportunity to embody an emerging Quaker principle was strongly gendered male. The products of women's work were distrained, but they had less direct access to the conscious decision of active surrender since they were not the ones who chose not to place one foot in front of the other in a deliberate refusal to muster.

Male Friends consciously developed a form of masculinity in opposition to those surrounding them. Making a ritual practice out of nonparticipation changed gender roles among Quakers by altering the definition of masculinity. Making distrainments a kind of religious work

denied a puritan English form of manly work, that of militia training. Rather than engaging in the physical defense of their households and communities, Quaker men fulfilled their obligation by being nonviolent and accepting the material loss of such a stance. They transformed the patient endurance of insults, physical punishment, or financial distrainment from a passive, weak lack of action that was the antithesis of English manhood to a self-controlled, active permission rich with spiritual power.[46]

By recording their sufferings, Quakers did more than bear witness to the world of their treatment at the hands of local governments. The metamorphosis of nonparticipation into a performance that bound them together as a community of men and women largely replaced the earlier body performances that earned them their nickname and it also articulated men's power over women. In circulating among meetings the records of these sufferings, as well as stories of the more dramatic bodily scourgings and executions, Quakers reinforced their ties as a separate people at the same time that they enforced internal social hierarchies.[47]

"They are of the same Blood, and Mould, you are of"

In 1660, traveling Quaker Richard Pinder exhorted Barbadian colonists who "hath many under you as Slaves, and Bond-Men" to avoid "cruell usage" with those "Servants," not only because "they are of the same Blood, and Mould, you are of," but also because avoiding "high-mindedness, cruelty, and hard-heartedness" will "constrain more obedience." Sharing the internal substance and external form of Adam, the first man, with those they enslaved should inspire owners to use "moderation" and to "serve as good examples both in word and behaviour," but was not offered as a reason to reject the institution of slavery.[48] Other Quakers who traveled throughout England and the colonies also stressed the potential of Natives and people of African descent to join in the worship of God with the English even as they acknowledged physical and social differences among these groups.[49]

Only isolated Quakers took up antislavery positions for the first half of the eighteenth century; most meetings of Friends could not reach unity on the question of slavery and the slave trade until well into the second half of that century. Quakers in the mainland colonies could—and many did—own slaves without disownment from the Society of Friends until nearly the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In Rhode Island, with significant numbers of Quakers who controlled the magistracy for

much of the 1670s (they were ousted in 1677), the ownership of slaves of African descent was no more legally difficult than in Massachusetts or Connecticut.[50] Meeting records have not survived from Barbados or Bermuda, but probate records show many slave-owning Quakers in those islands in the same period.[51]

The widespread if sometimes troubled Quaker acceptance of slavery that lasted through the mid-eighteenth century grew out of the contemporary understanding of the limits to social leveling required by the immanence of spiritual perfection. The overwhelming majority of English Quakers did not view the eradication of all social inequality to be a consequence of that ideal. Spiritual freedom could exist without physical freedom, and indeed to focus on the latter without the former ran the danger of elevating the inconsequential over the eternal. These subtleties of Quaker theology seemed to escape colonial officials and puritan ministers, who worried about the destruction that was sure to come in the wake of interactions between populations whose body politics and practices threatened puritan notions of community. Africans and Indians exposed to Quaker teaching had their own take on its meaning in their own lives and for their own bodies, perhaps seeing in it the potential for creating spiritual kinship bonds.

Colonial officials and ministers worried that Friends subverted social order and thus weakened the institution of slavery when they gathered enslaved people of color in "mixt" meetings with whites, a charge traveling Quakers and others assiduously denied. Although George Fox reminded slaveholders that "God . . . is no *Respecter* of *Persons*," he also defended Quaker teaching as strengthening slavery through its encouragement of particular behaviors and the abandonment of other practices deemed unacceptable by their English masters.[52] Fox wrote to the governor of Barbados in 1672 that Quakers "exhort[ed] and admonish[ed]" slaves to be "Faithful and Diligent" and indeed that they "love their Masters and Mistresses," which would improve relations between master and slave by inspiring masters to "deal Kindly and Gently with them." Furthermore, Fox pointed out, Quakers instructed the enslaved that they should "not beat their Wives, nor the Wives their Husbands; nor multiply Wives, nor put away their Wives, nor the Wives their Husbands . . . and that they do not Steal, nor be Drunk, nor commit Adultery, nor Fornication, nor Curse, nor Swear, nor Lye." William Edmundson made a similar point three years later, if not at quite the same length, reassuring the governor that exposure to "the Knowledge of God and Christ Jesus . . . would keep them from Rebelling, or cutting any Man's Throat."[53]

All might be able to walk in the Light, but that shared path did not mean the end to all material distinctions. Membership in a Quaker meeting did not come with physical freedom for those not already in possession of it, and any push to ameliorate slavery was more about what it would do for the slave owner rather than the enslaved.[54] In *Gospel Family-Order*, Fox's address to slave owners in Barbados, his emphasis was on the negative economic as well as spiritual effects for the English head of the household if he did not "order" his family, which included Indians and Africans. Failing to impose "gospel order" would result in "the Curse upon them in the Basket and in the Storehouse, and in the Field."[55] In the passage where Fox suggested a limited and future emancipation of enslaved individuals, it was to be a reward for having "served [Masters of Families] faithfully" for "a considerable Term of Years." For Fox the work of faithful bodies in service to another could eventually bring physical freedom, not because that was every individual's right, but because "this is the Way to have the lost Image of God restored and renewed in us." Fox's "us" did not include "Servants, the *Negroes* and *Blacks*," whose physically free bodies would still perform spiritual work in service to their owners by enabling the latter to achieve perfection.[56] In this exchange, the eventually emancipated slaves served as "marginal counters in a spiritual reckoning" of the condition of English Quakers' souls.[57] The treatise was so far from espousing any universal imperative to physical liberty or freedom that a 1701 reprinting of *Gospel Family-Order* served to bolster slaveholding Friends in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting against incipient abolitionist opinion.[58]

Not only did this rhetoric encourage slaveholders to adhere to divinely inspired yet ultimately self-imposed limits on their power over the enslaved without challenging the institution of slavery itself, but outsiders' fears that Quaker meetings facilitated intermixing may have been overwrought. Although no exact tallies of attendance exist, there are several indications that Quaker missionaries may have more often gathered Indians and Africans in separate meetings rather than alongside the English. When William Edmundson visited Barbados in 1675, he noted that he conducted "Publick Meetings for the Worship of God, and Men and Womens-Meetings about Church-Affairs, as also *Negroes* Meetings in Families," which indicates that Africans were not a part of the other meetings in which he participated.[59] In 1679, the London Morning Meeting directed Quakers in the English colonies to include their Indian servants in family worship because the servants were also "to be instructed in the Truth."[60] The directive suggests that the Morning

Meeting had received reports of families who did not include Indian servants in family worship. Even when such inclusion did occur, the focus of Quaker teaching was not on upending the social order of slavery. Quakers shared with puritans a perception that Africans existed in a state of "Uncleanness" because they did not adhere to European notions of acceptable sexual behavior. The belief that they needed to "be led out of Stealing, Murdering, Plotting, and out of their Uncleanness and Adultery" was one that crossed European confessional divides.[61]

Despite puritan fears that Quakers would flatten the hierarchy of the social body as they had mostly erased distinctions within the spiritual body, Quakers themselves maintained what was for them an unusual separation between spiritual transformation and social relationships and worked to ignore the radical potential of being "of the same Blood, and Mould" as those they enslaved. This effort appears in negative underlying the empty landscape of Barbados accounts by three traveling Friends who also went to the mainland colonies. Rather than noting spiritual struggle as in their narratives of travel in mainland English colonies and in England, George Fox, Alice Curwen, and Joan Vokins instead recorded social measures of Quaker success in Barbados, including how many prominent people were attracted to the meetings and how large the meetings grew.[62] William Edmundson also pointed to quantity: meetings in Barbados were "so full, that the Meeting-Houses cannot contain the People; many of the *Blacks* are convinced, and several of them confess to Truth."[63] Despite Edmundson's admonition that slaveholders consider how they would feel if they were under "the Yoke" of physical bondage "with out hope or expectation" of getting out from under it, a statement in support of future manumission, there were many other times he did not comment against slavery in general.[64] In 1675, the same year that Edmundson asked slaveholders to consider emancipating their slaves after a long term of service, the ship he was on encountered another bound from Guinea to Barbados. Although he mentioned the existence of three hundred slaves in the other ship's cargo, he said nothing further about them. Instead, his primary focus in that encounter was that the captain of the slave ship refused to sell Edmundson's ship a barrel of water. The emphasis on tallies and enumeration echoed the logic of the slave trade.[65]

The disjuncture between the unified contours of the spiritual body and the differentiated material bodies in systems of slavery is also discernible in the near absence of the enslaved in the brief accounts of Quaker confrontations in Bermuda, but the island's unusual demographics

and resulting local culture meant that establishment concerns about the disruptions of Quaker performance were framed differently than in Barbados. In 1660, the same year that Richard Pinder published his reminder to Barbadian slaveholders of the bodily aspects they shared with those they enslaved, he traveled to Bermuda and disputed with the puritan ministers there. His published account did not mention enslaved Bermudians, although he doubtless encountered them during his time on the island and some were most likely present during the debate.[66] Almost twenty years later, Samson Bond's account of his public debate with Quakers similarly failed to mention slaves or Africans even though it was meant to recount the event itself and included descriptions of the sounds of the disputants' voices.[67]

"Laid out in a negro"

Surmising that slave owners in Bermuda felt less specific fear than those elsewhere that Quaker activity could weaken slavery does not, of course, reveal much about the perceptions of the enslaved. Historian Kristen Block has deftly suggested some of the possibilities for Nell and Yaff in Barbados, whose owner, Lewis Morris, became a Quaker sometime after the first missionaries arrived on the island in 1655. The smaller size of Bermuda's population and the number of slaveholding Quakers within it do not permit the same degree of groundedness of supposition, but it is possible to offer some basic sense of probabilities for enslaved Bermudians of color in one Quaker household.[68]

William Wilkinson, son of Parnell Wilkinson, one of the white Bermudian Quakers who took part in the confrontation with Samson Bond, owned at least three slaves when he died in 1704: an "Indian woman called Bashanah" and two "Negroe" boys, Anthony and Frank. Wilkinson was deeply committed to an investment in human property as these three people were valued at nearly two-thirds of the estate inventory. For him and for the three white men who probated the estate, Bashanah, Anthony, and Frank were part of the moveable property to be sold to pay funeral charges and repay debts with the "residue" to be split among Wilkinson's four children. Moreover, Wilkinson specified that £8 be "laid out in a negro" for his daughter Bathsheba Robinson; at her death, the individual was to pass to his granddaughter Mary Robinson "and the Issue also of said negro if any." His bequeathal to the next generation of his kin was embodied in the form of another human, a hope for his daughter's comfortable existence to be acted out and performed by the

hands and back of another. By distributing the potential offspring of a future slave, Wilkinson demonstrated that he saw his family's economic prosperity as dependent on inherited enslavement and was quite comfortable with doing so in the same document in which he asserted that he had "been a sufferer for bearing a true testmoney to the Lords blessed and holy name," a typically Quaker preamble.[69]

Given the divergent racial designations assigned by those conducting the inventory of Wilkinson's estate, it is unlikely Bashanah was biologically related to Anthony or Frank. Inventories of wills often, although not always, noted existing mother-child relationships among the enslaved. Without any distinguishing features to their names, Anthony and Frank were probably Bermudian-born as were the overwhelming majority of enslaved Bermudians by the end of the seventeenth century. Anthony was either older than Frank or embodied another esteemed characteristic as he was valued £10 more highly than Frank. When he was not debating puritan ministers, Wilkinson was a shoemaker and likely had Anthony and Frank help with related labor—perhaps he showed them how to carve a model of a client's foot, woodworking skills that many Bermudians developed because of their importance to maritime activities.[70] The "boys," or possibly young men, would have been familiar with the religious teachings of their masters, since they lived in close quarters with them. They may have felt attraction to the different style of worship practiced by Quakers, enjoying the emotive style of preaching, or enjoyed not having to make the trek to the church. Or they may have wondered why, if Christ was in each individual and all shared in the Light, distinctions of this world still existed.

Bashanah's racial label and name stand out. At their greatest percentage, "Indians" comprised 20 percent of enslaved people in Bermuda. The large majority of enslaved Bermudians had English names with a smaller percentage of names with Portuguese, Spanish, or African resonances. Among other possibilities, "Bashanah" was an Arabic version of the name of a Coptic month, offering a tantalizing hint that perhaps this woman or her kin had Islamic affiliations.[71] At the very least, it signals that she was not Bermudian-born. She probably arrived via a previous master, Abraham Adderly, who could have acquired her during his time in Jamaica. She was part of the estate of Adderly's son, also named Abraham, when it was inventoried in 1690 and was sold to William Wilkinson some time after that.[72] Although no bill of sale has survived, the Wilkinsons and the Adderlys were involved in several land transactions, and so conveying human property would have fit easily into their existing

business relationship.[73] Around 16 percent of Africans brought into Spanish America in the first quarter of the seventeenth century came from West Africa, some of whom would have been Muslim or familiar with Islam, with the percentage dropping to just under 10 for the decades immediately preceding Bashanah's presumed purchase.

Whether Bashanah's name carried Islamic cultural influence or not and whatever her previous religious sensibilities, her time in Adderly's household would have introduced her to a new form of perceiving and interacting with the sacred. Puritan forms of dissenting Protestantism would have involved very different practices than any of the religions Bashanah would have encountered before that point, whatever combination of indigenous American religions, Islam, religions that originated in sub-Saharan Africa, or Catholicism she drew on. And contextual evidence suggests that that introduction may have been intense. Either Adderly Sr. or Jr. lived for some time in the Bahamian colony of Eleutheria, along with Governor William Sayle, minister Nathaniel White, and other colonists with enough of a mind toward independent puritan church organization that they left Bermuda for a time.[74]

William Wilkinson's household may have offered a welcome change from hearing long passages read from a book. In his younger days, Wilkinson participated in public conflicts with ministers and colonial officials.[75] He may have continued to be open to the immediate inspiration of God when he gathered his household to worship, which may have seemed familiar to Bashanah if she practiced rituals that allowed direct communication with other-than-human persons. Or her time in the Adderlys' household may have accustomed her to the particular kind of bodily discipline, stillness, and silent listening expected of congregants during much of a puritan worship service. Once she learned English, she may have enjoyed the stories of biblical heroes or felt the cadence of lining out psalms as a comforting repetition. Then being under Wilkinson's direction may have been an unwelcome change. She may have missed the others with whom she had been enslaved, Diana, another Indian woman, or Cicely, Sarah, Rose, Will, Jo, Tom, Lebede, Betty, Curtteta, Fortune, another Will at sea at the time of the inventory, Tom, George, Great Bess. Perhaps they were still near enough to each other to exchange news, goods, or greetings on a weekly basis or when there was a night gathering. But relations may have been tense, and Bashanah might have enjoyed being the only enslaved woman in her new household.

None of that is certain, or even stronger than the puff of air that barely passes someone's lips in the moment of holding back a thought hardly

realized. But it is imperative to seek underneath the insistent, even strident declaration of Wilkinson's will and the broader gestures of Quaker performance in the puritan Atlantic for layers of meaning so thin from our removed perspective that they appear to disappear except, perhaps, for a whisper now and then, a sudden compression of air.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Quakers no longer threatened the puritan body of Christ in the same way that they had in the 1650s and 1660s because they had come to emphasize faith-filled bodies that more closely resembled puritan notions of the body rather than Christ-filled bodies that promulgated the spiritual union of each individual believer's body with the "celestial flesh" of Christ. Along with an internal theological retrenchment into more widely accepted notions of the relationship between humans and the divine, the general Quaker leadership worked to restrain the physical expression of ecstatic religious experience. Quakers continued to refuse many courtesies of rank and day-to-day exchange, but other Protestants no longer perceived such rudeness as tightly linked to blasphemous concepts about Christ's historical body.

As the incidents of mystical visions and bodies quaking in the throes of connection with the divine decreased in frequency, non-Quaker critics continued to perpetuate the memory of those radical performances, thus extending the influence of those disruptive bodies. In one sense, those physical movements of trembling limbs or drawing on a sackcloth, carefully gathering ashes from a fireplace, and smearing them on the face before walking to the meetinghouse to stand as a sign during the puritan minister's sermon were ephemeral. They were not actions that built an edifice of wood or stone or earth. And yet through critics' printed and oral rehearsal of these fleeting actions, these disruptive moments, instead of disappearing with the passage of chronological time, continued to exist in a malleable temporality created by the very same disparaging accounts meant to stamp out their influence. Critics' repeated recall of those actions made their *now* extend for years and even decades. The repercussions of those performances rippled out from that place and calendrical time and crossed the boundary to the world of the unseen and an other-than-human scale of time. Publications such as Williams's and Bond's brought the past into the present and projected it into the future.[76] The ashes might have been long washed off the face of the Quakers who had felt "moved of God" to become a sign of the corruption of trained ministers and spiritually dead worship practice, but the imprint of ink on paper maintained the memory and influence of that action.

Likewise, the circulation of accounts of Quaker suffering gave greater weight to allowing a seizure of goods—say, a round of cheese—than the planned inaction would have had on its own.

As Quakers turned away from the concept of celestial flesh, their bodies made fewer tumults in puritan communities. Their performances of suffering with a foundation in an alternative masculinity still marked them as a people apart, but they did not upset the racial order that framed Indian and African bodies as, at best, tenuous participants in the body of Christ. Seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Quaker positions on slavery proceeded from the tempered relationship between spiritual equality and the distinctions and inequalities of social order. At that time, they did not espouse a universal principle of love that required treating all equally in the material world.[77] As did other English and Europeans more broadly, Quakers viewed Africans (and to a lesser extent Indians) as apart, different in body if still potentially children of the Light.

By the early eighteenth century, then, Quakers fit more comfortably into the puritan body of Christ in Bermuda and Rhode Island than they had in the mid-seventeenth century because of the confluence of both internal and external changes that shifted the religious, political, and cultural landscapes in which they operated. The difference was not a simple one of a skin color divide between "whites" and all others, however, as the perception of another European threat strengthened during that period. One recurrent charge puritans leveled against Quakers was that they shared in the errors of Catholic practice and belief, as when John Brown complained, "[O]ur *Quakers* way and worshipe hath been long ago in use among, & much applauded by the Fanatick Papists."[78] Irish Catholics came to assume overpowering significance in the pantheon of challenges to puritan and more generally Protestant communities.

6 / "Those bloody people who did use most horrible crueltie"

In 1661, Bermuda's Governor William Sayle announced "that there hath bin a dangerous Plott Combination by the Irish and Negroes that if the Irish cannot have their freedom their intentions are . . . to cutt the throats of our Englishmen," a plan he and his council found to be "of dangerous consequence for our inhabitants." As the governor and his council were not "willing to have" the inhabitants of the island "destroyed by those bloody people who did use most horrible crueltie to our English Protestants in Ireland which like hath not bin heard of in any Nation," they ordered that each tribe or parish keep a strict watch, designate a place of retreat and safety, and disarm the populations involved in the plot.[1] The proclamation made an explicit link between the fate of English Protestants in Ireland during the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the planned attack in Bermuda twenty years later. This reference to the killing of English in Ireland described those deaths as stemming from religious affiliation—the horrible cruelty was to "our English Protestants in Ireland" rather than simply "the English." As phrased, there is no possibility that the Irish might be part of the body of Christ: they were a "bloody people" whose cruel actions placed them outside the known realm of human behavior.[2] Other than labeling Bermudians of color as "Negroes," the proclamation did not attach any descriptors to either the individuals from that group suspected to be involved in the plot or in the general population to be disarmed. This order of priorities denotes that in some situations, confessional affiliation within Christianity and successful colonial violence could be as

important in defining human difference as categories based on skin color and inheritable enslaved status.

Irish Catholics were troubling to the English because they were European and had become part of the English empire by force. They fit uncomfortably into the puritan body of Christ as well as its more general Protestant iteration.[3] The English had honed their colonization techniques on the Gaelic inhabitants of Ireland before heading east to the Mediterranean region and west to the Americas. As the English Commonwealth's Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell ordered thousands of Irish shipped to the Americas as bonded servants where their intimate contact with enslaved Africans worked to confirm their debasement in English eyes. This forced transportation also provided a fertile ground for English fears that the classes of bonded laborers would collude to overthrow their masters. In addition to the 1661 Bermudian plot, there were other planned revolts that seemed to confirm English suspicions that the Irish were a "bloody people" inclined to violence and "papist" religion. As with their treatment of Natives, the English refused to see how their discriminatory policies and laws helped to create the very results they so feared.[4]

The existence of Catholics within the geographical bounds of what was supposed to be a Protestant society was an irritant that could create lesions on the community body, lesions that might spread to become general infection and corruption.[5] Since even among Christians the English Atlantic was not uniformly Protestant, the ideal of a matched body politic and body of Christ was never the reality. The number of Catholics tabulated in missionary and official accounts does not include many individuals alluded to in other types of sources, those who practiced their faith only privately, or, for the most part, African or Native Catholics. Contemporary estimates—that Catholics constituted just over 1 percent of the English population in England and Wales between 1660 and 1688; 13 percent of the white population in the English Caribbean overall in the 1650s; 29 percent of the white population in the English Leeward Islands in 1669; 25 percent in 1677 Maryland; and no stated numbers or percentages for New England—are low, but scholars are not sure to what extent.[6] Within this Catholic diversity, however, the presence of Irish Catholics was particularly troublesome. As colonized subjects, they were supposed to add to the strength of the English empire, but as they had demonstrated in the deadly 1641 uprising in Ulster, many were eminently capable of attacking from within.

An exceptional series of appearances by one Irish man in western Massachusetts from the 1660s through the 1680s gives vivid illustration

to the way English notions of insider and outsider fell heavily on the Irish who did not act the part of a faithful subject, especially in areas where and times when their assumed religion made them suspected allies of Catholic Natives and their French coreligionists. Cornelius Merry had participated as part of English forces in the "Great Falls" fight in King Philip's War, but he also refused to act the proper role of male head of household who controlled himself and ruled over dependents in his household. Instead, he insulted his wife Rachel's religiosity, did not raise his children as godly members of society, and threatened his neighbors and colonial officials. His unregulated and deficient manhood keyed into English fears of the Irish as a weak point who could not become part of a strong English body politic until they reformed their "barbarous" ways, while his imprecations against participation in the local church constituted a "papist" attack on the puritan body of Christ.

A different kind of singular figure exemplifies the bodily dangers of corruption and spiritual infection posed by Irish Catholics in the puritan Atlantic and the ease with which puritans feared Catholic practices could cross over into malevolent magic or witchcraft. Unlike Merry, Goody Glover appears in many accounts of early American history because her 1688 execution for witchcraft, the last one to take place in Boston, occurred only four years before the peak of the Salem witchcraft trials and involved several of the same magistrates and ministers. One of those ministers was the loquacious Cotton Mather, who wrote multiple accounts of the case as part of his interest in developing evidentiary methods in witchcraft cases. In puritan eyes, Glover attacked the children of a godly family in body and soul, twisting their limbs and making it impossible for them to read the Christian Bible.[7] Reading against and through Mather's accounts of her life not only reveals the range of Catholic lay practice in seventeenth-century English colonies, but it also enables a glimpse over her shoulder at a wider range of possibilities for how Glover interacted with the unseen world. It was not simply Glover's marginal status as a poor, older Irish Catholic widow that left her vulnerable to witchcraft accusation and prosecution, but the particular manner in which she embodied those categories and acted according to her conception of faith that made her appear to be a danger to the puritan community.[8]

Although scattered in place and time, these three examples of the "dangerous plott" of "those bloody people" in Bermuda, the outbursts of Cornelius Merry, and Ann Glover's execution demonstrate the various kinds of threats posed to a puritan body of Christ by Irish Catholic

performances of their own notions of faithful bodies. Colonial officials might decline to enforce laws against Catholics when individual Catholics had proved themselves useful to the colony and crown, but those decisions of "practical toleration" depended on Catholics' performance of faithfulness to the body politic, if not to the puritan or more generally Protestant body of Christ.[9] Examining these moments of crisis involving Catholics or those assumed to be Catholic reveals the confluence of several streams of ideas about difference that confirms the importance of bodily practices of dress, adornment, mourning, and speech as well as explicitly religious action in creating ideas about human difference. Dissenting Protestants' refusal to recognize Catholics as part of the body of Christ, along with the English history of colonization in Ireland, meant that Irish Catholics played a significant role in the irregular development of racially based notions of religious difference.

The "Dangerous Plott" of a "bloody people"

Bermuda Governor Sayle's 1661 characterization of Irish Catholics as "those bloody people" signaled that religious differences between European Christians mattered, and that the violence between colonizer and colonized was not limited to that which crossed a European/non-European divide. Being European and being Christian did not automatically count for membership in what puritans recognized as the body of Christ, nor did it make them safe colonial subjects. Sayle's denunciation of Irish conspirators stands in stark relief to the absence of any commentary on the other group involved in the "dangerous Plott combination," enslaved Bermudians of color. This lack of imprecation about the "Negroes" was not a mere oversight in what was intended to be an inclusive dispensation of insults but for a slip of the tongue. Rather, it was a targeted expression that had its basis as much in the imperial context of geographically distant events as in the local demographic contours of slavery and the comportment of Irish Catholics on the island.

Sayle was far from the first English official to take the 1641 uprising in which Catholics killed thousands of English colonists in Ulster as confirmation of an innate Irish barbarity tied to their corrupt version of Catholicism. Popular English accounts such as *The Teares of Ireland* (1642) and *The Irish Rebellion* (1646) included graphic woodcuts of the violent acts, including cannibalism, supposedly perpetrated during the attack. The circulation of these titles and others like them helped to solidify English perception of Irish Catholics as bloodthirsty "papists,"

against whom the only recourse was rigid control and invasion. Cromwell's invasion of Ireland developed into a policy of the forced transportation of Irish Catholics to the Leeward Islands and Barbados, who greatly outnumbered the Protestant English and Scottish royalists also sent to the Caribbean.[10] The Privy Council sent Scottish prisoners of war to Bermuda after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, and by 1653 scattered references to them in the island's records indicates that at least some of them had arrived. The larger number of Irish arrived over a few years, with at least two shiploads totaling forty-eight individuals in 1657 alone.[11]

Although Irish Catholics were not the only subjects of the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland to be transported to the Caribbean, parliamentary debates on the topic of whether forced transportation was slavery and who among the Three Kingdoms might be subject to it—there was no debate over enslaving Africans—indicated that Irish Catholics were in a category apart. The rump parliament that had reconvened after Cromwell's death in 1658 and his son's succession as ruler of the Protectorate debated hearing a petition submitted by Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle, two gentlemen who had been "barbadosed" and consigned to labor alongside enslaved Africans for their royalist activities, that their "slavery" was illegal and went against their rights as English men. The ensuing exchanges focused on different aspects of the rights that English men could be said to enjoy, such as the right to a jury trial. While only a Member of Parliament from Scotland suggested that there were Scottish royalists in similar situations who might also challenge their bondage if Parliament were to entertain Rivers and Foyle's petition, other M.P.s did not challenge his simultaneous discussion of English and Scottish rights.[12] In terms of presence in the colonies, Scottish prisoners of war were among those transported but were much fewer in number in the colonies than the Irish. They also largely shared a confessional affiliation with the English as Protestants, making their similarities to the English greater than Irish differences. In the course of the debate over the Rivers and Foyle petition, there was a complete absence of any mention of rights that might be held by Irish Catholics.[13]

Bermuda elites had already expressed similar attitudes against the Irish. Although both Scottish and Irish servants were required to participate in militia training, the government's differentiation among these transportees was evident in its November 1657 ban on further importation "of the Irish nation upon any pretence whatsoever." Scottish prisoners were still present as their petition the previous year to have their indentures limited to five years had been unsuccessful, but the ban

did not mention them. The order presented Irish servants as a disruptive group with disorderly habits who needed special surveillance and control. "Those that hath the Irish servants" must "take care that they straggle not night nor daie, as is too comon with them," on penalty of a fine. "Master and dames" who had charge of those already "amongst us" should bring them "to the meeting places on Sabbath daies" and make them stay nearby or in the church and so remain under their masters' oversight.[14] In the 1657 ban, Bermuda officials drew on their expectations of what negative habits of the strangers "amongst us" would be "too comon," as well as providing a potential glimpse of the way Irish individuals moved about the island in the course of their assigned duties, consciously slowing their work to carve out time for themselves to exchange information with each other and to be out of sight of their masters.[15]

That the particular development of slavery and other forms of bonded labor in Bermuda did not follow the pattern that prevailed in other English plantation colonies helps to explain Sayle's response to uncovering a revolt planned by Bermudians of color as well as by Irish prisoners. In the 1661 proclamation, the "Negroes" were almost an afterthought in what officials saw as a volatile mix out of which grew a "dangerous Plott combination," despite the discovery only five years previously of a planned revolt involving free and enslaved Bermudians of color. Restrictions on travel and association imposed after each scare quickly fell into disuse even as male Bermudians of color were again required by law to train and muster in the militia to participate in the defense of the islands. There were no successful revolts in Bermuda, and while English inhabitants there would certainly have heard about the nearly successful ones in Barbados and elsewhere, daily life on the island was not severely disrupted.[16] The proclamation also makes no mention of women, although there were nearly equal numbers of women in the enslaved population and some, if not an equal proportion, among Irish servants. Colonial officials' assumptions that women did not pose a threat in insurrections continued, despite much evidence to the contrary.[17]

Bermudian elite and official interpretation of Irish servants as sources of disorder and violence drew on broader English perceptions of Irish Catholics, but such a framing also responded to the actions and performances of the particular individuals resident in Bermuda. A man such as Thomas Lincay who was willing to stay quiet about Catholic practices and tenets and prove his ability to contribute to colonial society and economy over a period of years might win grudging acceptance of his presence in Bermuda. Lincay arrived in Bermuda as the result of a

1655 shipwreck but was able to gather "a considerable sum of money" to free himself and "hath not been found to draw on others to his religion etc." The Council refrained from exiling Lincay as the colony's 1615 charter prohibiting Catholics demanded, but they enjoined Lincay to "behave . . . himselfe as a Christian man ought to doe, void of offence tuching papistry tenetts."[18] This conditional acceptance tied to performing the part of a dutiful colonial subject only confirms that English Protestants viewed Irish Catholics who were not willing to restrict their actions in such ways as culturally, religiously, and politically disruptive in a confessionally specific space.

One instance of these disruptions comes from only months before the 1661 plot to "cutt the throats" of the English. In August 1660, "three Irishmen" attacked the constable John Huchins verbally and physically when they encountered him along the one of the main pathways in Paget, offering "many confronting languages" as well as "jussl[ing] him as he passed along." They were convicted and sentenced to stand during the entire morning service "in the full view of the Congregation" with a paper "fixed upon their breasts" that enumerated their offenses against Huchins and then "sit in the Stocks" until the afternoon service began.[19] The Council thus located the punishment for their attack on a colonial official in the midst of a congregation gathered to worship and enact a sense of community that excluded the men.

Governor Sayle's scripting of this declaration concentrated on his own mercy toward the "strangers in our land," a leniency he would not have shown "to any that our laws do understand."[20] The declaration implied language difficulty on the part of the unnamed men and ventriloquized their lack of understanding of civil behavior and government, although Irish authorities would have been no more likely than Sayle to tolerate such behavior from social inferiors. Sayle turned what had been an attack on colonial power into a display of his personal magnanimity to unfortunate men of lesser understanding. The idea that the Irish were without appropriate forms of hierarchy and orderly laws formed part of the colonizing rationale first to reform and then simply to attempt control of the "wild Irish."

Although Sayle did not use Samuel Sewall's phrase of "extravasat blood," his description of the Irish men as "strangers in our land" invoked a similar sense of a group of people who would remain forever a weak point and irritant in the body politic. The Irish brought to Bermuda as prisoners seemed to agree with officials' assessment that they could not prosper there and left once their indentures were over. A 1670

proclamation restricting the use of "lighted leaves, or sticks of fire" while walking on common paths or private grounds mentioned "Servants, Youths, Mullattoes, Indians or Negroes" but not the Irish, although they had been mentioned in previous statements against nightwalking and other disorderly behavior. Elizabeth Clarke had disembarked on the island in 1672 as "a Roman Catholique" but, according to her account in court, had experienced a conversion since being in John Somersall's service. And in 1679, the Somers Islands Company responded to the Privy Council's Committee of Trade and Foreign Plantations's survey of all colonies that they had "noe Strangers" and that "Noe English, Scottish, Irish or Forreigner come in seaven years past to plant there, the colony being fully peopled."[21] Bermudian officials defined difference within the body politic not only in broadly Christian terms, but also with reference to particular religious affiliation. As presumed Catholics who were part of the same group that had attacked English Protestants in Ireland, the Irish in Bermuda were not members of the body of Christ recognized by Bermudian officeholders. Here again the partial coincidence between the body politic and the body of Christ as organizing metaphors for society reveals the contingency of racial identity in the seventeenth century. The English feared that the Catholic Irish saw themselves as part of their own Catholic body of Christ, one that linked to a competing body politic within the Protestant frame, while many of the Irish who found themselves in Bermuda enacted such beliefs in their interactions with their English masters.

"Noe more fitt to be a church member then an Indian"

Cornelius Merry of Northfield was a man who most likely would have fit uneasily within any orderly society, but the specifics of his friction with his neighbors in western Massachusetts point to the strength of anti-Catholic sentiment in defining human difference in the puritan Atlantic. By the standards of colonial life he was not a marginal figure—he finished his term of indenture, owned land and some goods, had a household of his own, and with his wife raised six children who went on to establish their own households. Merry took part in the colonial project, fought in King Philip's War, and after the end of the war was one of the signatories to and investors in a deed from Sokoki leaders to reestablish the town of Northfield, a settlement in the Connecticut River Valley near the northern Massachusetts border on the site of the Native town of Squakheag. He was never granted freeholder status even though he

met the property requirements, and his often erratic and angry behavior landed him in court and thus in seventeenth-century Hampshire County court records more than any other individual.[22] His simultaneous inclusion and exclusion points to the problematic status of Irish Catholics in late seventeenth-century western Massachusetts specifically and the puritan Atlantic more generally. Caught between the puritan body of Christ and the body politic, Merry stirred up trouble wherever he went.

English officials' responses to Cornelius Merry's behavior demonstrate their perception that an Irish man, especially one who derided the laws and persons of the government, posed a danger to their communities. Not a man to mince words, Merry appeared in court in 1662 for saying that he "had no love for the English." Four years later, he still saw himself as separated from those around him. He was once more presented in court because he had "complayned that he cannot have justice in this Countrey." These incidents captured Merry's sense of distance from the English around him.[23] Promising to be good and seeming penitent, Merry instead sold liquor to Indians and was publicly drunk. Brought into "open Court" yet another time, probably before a single magistrate, Merry renewed his verbal attacks. The clerk recorded the report of his speeches as "vilifying Authoritie, deriding at the Laws of this Government, saying they were little worth, & officers, as Constables, saying he loved not for as many Constables as you would &c."[24]

These declarations were not surprising, given that Cornelius Merry was one of a handful of Irish in the English communities in the Connecticut River Valley and had probably been taken captive as a child in Ireland in the early 1650s and sold as an indentured servant in Marblehead, Massachusetts.[25] His critiques of the government were not merely the result of a drunken rage, but rather the expression of long-held beliefs resulting from experience. Merry's first appearance in English colonial records came in March 1655/6 in the Connecticut Quarter Court records, when his master, John Lyman of Branford, bound himself for the "good behavior" of "his Irish boy Cornelius."[26] That "good behavior" probably included being brought to Sunday services that would have sounded quite different from any Merry would have experienced in Ireland. Rather than listening to chants in Latin, the congregation would have "lined out" the psalms in English, repeating the phrases after a deacon or other lay person. Abraham Pierson, the minister in Branford at the time, would have preached for about an hour at a time. Not many of his sermons have survived, but his strict adherence to the requirement of a public conversion narrative for church admission, as well as his belief

that the body politic should be tightly homogenous with the body of Christ and none but full church members serve as civil officials, suggests that he would not have had welcoming things to say about a Catholic in the community's midst. In the 1650s, Pierson was involved in missionary work with the Quiripis—he ended up publishing a catechisim in Quiripi around the same time that Lyman moved his household out of Branford—and he may have viewed the young Irish indentured servant as yet another missionary target. If Merry's later outbursts are any indication of his younger self, he would not have received such outreach kindly.[27]

Cornelius Merry did not find (or perhaps seek) a welcome into the body of Christ in western Massachusetts. Eleazer Mather, who briefly served as Northampton's minister, believed that it was his job to maintain the purity of the visible church—those admitted to full communion and membership in the church—so that it might most closely resemble the invisible church of the saved. There are no records of Mather's specific beliefs about the Irish, nor are there particulars about his approach to Natives. But in addition to the strong anti-Catholic sentiment among many strains of puritans, it is safe to conjecture that because Mather required a narration of grace as evidence of membership in the body of Christ, even for those who had been raised by parents who were full church members, he would not have welcomed an Irish Catholic into the religious community.[28] Northfield did not have a minister during the first English attempt at settlement, and by the time Cornelius Merry returned to Northampton, Solomon Stoddard had been ordained as that community's minister. Stoddard had a liberal interpretation of church membership that grew out of his theological position that because it was impossible for humans to tell who was in the invisible church, everyone should be included in the visible church. Even so, there is no record that Merry joined the Northampton church, although one of his children did.[29]

When Northampton granted three acres to Cornelius Merry in the late 1660s, it was with the explicit caveat that having that land did not make him a voting member of the body politic: the allowance was "yet not so as to make him Capabelle of acting in any town affairs, no more than he had before it was granted to him." He had livestock and a house to put up as sureties for his bond in 1666. Between 1675 and 1684, he paid for a gun, cloth, boned bodices for his wife and one of his daughters, seeds to plant and then later a "Cutting man & teame" to harvest with various forms of agricultural work, as well as the products of the harvest.[30] There were at least two other Irish men in Hampshire County who did well enough to purchase land and were similarly and specifically

shut out of the franchise in the 1660s.[31] David Thro seems to have been more of Merry's brand of Irish Catholic, as he was presented in court in 1665 for "contemning the constable's authority" to force him to attend Sabbath services, while Clesson took the Oath of Allegiance in 1673, an oath that required him to swear political loyalty to the king. At least in outward performance, Clesson was more accommodating than either Merry or Thro.[32]

The excitement over the 1678 "Popish Plot," in which Titus Oates fabricated a conspiracy among English Catholics to seize power in England that resulted in thirty-five executions before Oates's perjury was exposed, could not have done anything to help Cornelius Merry's standing in the eyes of his English neighbors. In 1680, he was charged with "many notorious offences and scandalous speeches and breaches of the law." In the recently recharged anti-Catholic environment, the court may have wished to make sure that Merry did not pass his religious errors to his children and empowered the selectmen of Northampton to put out two of his children as apprentices because "their father is very vicious, and Rather learns them Irreligion rather than any Good Literature."[33] Irreligion could mean simply a lack of religion, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it often referred to a "false, or perverted religion," which, in the eyes of the Northampton selectmen, would have been a most apt description of Catholicism.[34]

Despite Merry's "Irreligion" and his exclusion from the body politic, his fellow colonists were happy to use his resources to reestablish Northfield and pay Massemet and other Sokokis for another deed in 1686. The signing of the deed indicates the precarious nature of English settlement in the area, which they had fled during King Philip's War, and colonists' dependence on Native notions of space even though most Sokokis and other Natives in western Massachusetts had been killed or pushed out by the end of 1676, fleeing north and east to extended kin in Odanak and Schaghticoke.[35] The English stayed away from Squakheag for seven years. When they reappeared around 1684, Massemet and some other Sokokis required that they pay for and sign a second deed. The English and many generations of subsequent historians saw this demand as mere trickery and greed, but from the Sokoki viewpoint, once the English abandoned the land, they needed to secure permission to use it again. Indeed, according to the colonists' own concept of the ownership of land as grounded in its "improvement" and use, they did not have clear title to it. Perhaps those Europeans who desired to resettle Squakheag recognized this need for formal cartographic insertion,

or perhaps they only wished to avoid further conflict with their Native neighbors. Whatever their motives, a few of the men who had petitioned the General Court for permission to resettle agreed to put up the money for the new deed, which they signed in 1686. Cornelius Merry was one of those men, putting his "C" mark next to his name.[36]

In that same year, Merry appeared in court for having threatened his wife and others with bodily harm, "wishing the Devil had her, and to others, saying, he would cut out their gutts, and shoot bullets in their sides." He also made "many prophane & Calumnious speeches against the people of God," declaring that his neighbors were "a Company of Rogues, & he should see many of them sent to hel before summer out, & he would help to send them thither." These were serious speech acts, neither made nor taken lightly. Merry then attacked his wife, Rachel, "by flinging her down, & dealing in such abusive manner towards her, that she declares her selfe afraid of her life." His assault included calling her a whore, the standard attack on her sexual chastity.[37]

Merry's next reported phrase revealed interlocking gender, religious, and racial hierarchies: he roared that Rachel was "noe more fitt for a church member then an Indian." The phrase is so striking that it is worth pausing to consider the range of its potential meanings. He did not call her a heathen, nor did he focus on a perceived similarity between her comportment and that of an Indian. Instead, his reference demonstrated his perception of the connection between inclusion in the body of Christ and being a member of the English settlement, an inclusion that was especially important for one who was already marked as a suspect outsider by (as all who met him would have assumed) having been born a Catholic. Even if he did not practice Catholicism, others assigned that identity to him, reading it into his actions, his very being, regardless of what he actually did. In western Massachusetts, being Irish Catholic was intrinsic and inborn.

There is no way to know if Cornelius connected his frustration with never gaining the franchise to his attacks on Rachel, nor what Rachel thought as she picked herself up off the ground, bracing for another blow. But what the records do reveal is a man colliding with the restrictions placed on him by conceptions of the Irish as inherently inferior, and a woman bruised by that collision. As is often the case, there is little trace of Rachel beyond the dates of her marriage and birthdates of her children. She was born Rachel Ball, and she, too, may have traveled from Branford or even Newark. She did not have any more children with Cornelius to add to the seven living children they had in 1686, but as

she had already been married for twenty-three years, that lack is more likely a result of biology than a measure of her level of affection for her husband or their physical intimacy. She either did not want to or did not feel capable of taking the most serious legal option of trying to get a divorce, which were granted, if rarely, but might have put her in a more precarious position as a woman alone than did staying with her volatile husband. Her family was not nearby, and marrying an Irish man may have already put pressure on her social capital.[38]

Some of Merry's anger against Indians in the 1680s might well have been a legacy of his experience in King Philip's War. However, having been one of the 140 colonists who participated in the May 1676 massacre of a few hundred sleeping Natives at Peskeompscut, the "Great Falls" on the Connecticut River, does not completely explain Merry's stated incompatibility between being Indian and being a church member.[39] Equally important to Merry's attitude was that English colonists denied him full participation in town affairs. The English townspeople told Merry that he might be among them, but he was not of them. Merry never gained the franchise in any of the English towns in which he lived, worked, and owned land. He was neither a part of the body politic nor a part of the body of Christ.[40] Merry was specific in his insults; he did not say his wife was going to hell and he would send her there. He attacked her membership in a particular religious community. A common European belief about Natives was that they were sexually promiscuous, an attitude that misunderstood the social organization of different tribes, so Merry could easily have linked his assaults on his wife's sexual virtue to the perceived wantonness of Indian women.[41] But in his rage, he chose a concept that to us seems somewhat abstract for a moment of overweening emotion: church membership. He did not deride her Christianity as a whole, which would certainly have been a vile insult and would have fit in with the description of his other behavior.

The insult may also have been directed more generally against puritan worship practices, and the church membership he referred to a Catholic one. In Catholic perception, puritan churches were no churches at all and lacked any divine authority or sense of God's mysteries. Although Native peoples were the focus of many Catholic missions along the St. Lawrence River, including those at Odanak, where some Sokokis fled during King Philip's War, Merry's rhetorical flourish may have indicated a rejection of English treatment of him as an inferior who was not to be trusted.[42] His denigration of his wife made him the arbiter of church membership and placed himself more highly than the Indians to whom

he so scornfully referred. Cornelius's assessment of Rachel's fitness for church membership points to the effects of anti-Catholicism on race formation. In the English settlements in the Connecticut River Valley near the northern border of Massachusetts, the Catholic French posed too much of a threat for all Europeans to be insiders bound together against outsider Indians. The English also feared Natives allied with the French, but the danger was often phrased as one of religious affiliation.[43] Few in number and mostly former indentured servants, Irish individuals in western Massachusetts reaped the English dread of the Catholic threat.

Cornelius Merry's castigation of his wife as "noe more fitt for a church member than an Indian" was more than the result of his uncertain status among the English and his incomplete role as a patriarch. Merry's choice to compare Rachel's spiritual membership to that of an Indian hints at the racialized tension in their marriage and more generally in the community. The English viewed Native masculinity as a deviant form of male behavior rather than an acceptable alternative; they may have lumped Merry in with Native men.[44] Merry's violent outbursts confirmed what his neighbors and the court thought they knew about Irish men, and about Catholics. His ungoverned tongue made a mockery of the puritan ideal of restrained manliness, while his physical violence pushed the bounds of acceptable levels of corporal correction and was an abrogation of his responsibility as a head of household to maintain self-control as well as discipline of dependents.[45] These actions confirmed perceptions of Catholic tyranny that began with the corrupted control of a pope and then pervaded all parts of that diseased body of Christ.

Cornelius attacked the basis for Rachel's membership in the only somewhat closed community she could join, the church. That she could be a member there, while he was kept out of officeholding in the town, seems to have galled him. His comparison of his English wife to an Indian suggests that he knew his exclusion was based on his religious affiliation. He might have said she was no Christian, or no more fit to be a church member than a heathen. But he chose a specific example of a heathen close at hand: Indians, to whom his fellow townsmen had graciously allowed him to give money as an advance on the price of a deed for the second settlement of Northfield. He could give money, but he could not vote on any matters important to that settlement. Some of those same Indians now threatened the newly resettled town. His verbal and threatened physical attacks on the townspeople seem to have been a reaction to their attempts to stop him from being excessively violent with

his wife, an interference in what he would have seen as his only arena of governance in an English world—his family.

Cornelius Merry is admittedly an exceptional figure. But his violent words and actions took place in a specific time and place, and the reactions of those around him indicate that religious affiliation—or even perceived affiliation—continued to be significant in understandings of insider and outsider. White skin was not enough to gain entrance into all levels of colonial society in western Massachusetts; the English very much considered the Irish to be a people apart, and Merry performed that role with great energy.

"In her daughters Defence"

The glimpses over Goody Glover's shoulder that we can get by following Cotton Mather's accounts of her 1688 trial and execution for witchcraft make plain the very real perils that performing Catholic rituals could hold for individuals whose age, gender, occupation, and Irish origin already made them suspect and potential sources of corruption. The sources that serve as our vantage point onto her past are so thick with layers of assumptions and unfamiliar systems of meaning that it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty whether Glover consciously engaged in actions she thought of as witchcraft, accessing occult forces with the intent of doing harm; whether her attempts to create and use material objects that could serve as aids to Catholic devotions were such poor imitations of more official icons and practices that they fit into puritan notions of witchcraft but were nothing of the sort; or whether her form of Catholicism incorporated Gaelic religious approaches in a way that seemed (to puritans) to be outside the realm of even "papist" idolatry. All those possibilities and alternative stories are present in and behind Mather's various narratives, enacting different aspects of the threat posed by Irish Catholic bodies in the puritan Atlantic.

The main part of Goody Glover's case unfolded in Boston in the summer of 1688, after Martha Goodwin, the eldest child in the Goodwin household, "saw cause to examine their Washerwoman, upon their missing of some *Linnen*." The laundress's mother came to "her daughters Defence" with "very bad Language." Martha immediately became "variously indisposed," going in to "*strange Fitts*," an affliction that spread to her siblings and continued for a few weeks. A day of prayer by five ministers seemed to alleviate the children's symptoms, but not for long.

Magistrates took up the case, and John Goodwin, the head of the household, "complained of his Neighbor, the ill woman." When the justices questioned her, she "gave such a wretched Account of her self" that she was committed to the gaoler's custody.

Once the trial began, Glover's insistence on speaking only in Gaelic "altho she understood the *English* very well, and had accustomed her whole Family" to speak English "in her former Conversation" required the court to employ two "honest and faithful men" as interpreters. A search of her house discovered "several small *Images*, or *Puppets,* or *Babies*, made of Raggs and stuff't with Goats Hair, and other such Ingredients," and in court she demonstrated "that her way to torment the Objects of her malice, was by wetting of her *Finger* with her *Spittle*, and stroaking of those little *Images*." Whenever Glover touched the cloth figures, one or more of the Goodwin children experienced fits and spectral blows in the same parts of their bodies, an "Experiment" repeated several times. An extended interview by a panel of "five or six *Physicians*" found her "*Compos Mentis*," and the court sentenced her to death. While being taken through the streets of Boston on the way to the Gallows, Glover declared that "the Children should not be relieved by her Death, for others had a hand in it as well as *she*." And indeed the children "continued in their *Furnace* as before" for several months after Glover's execution.[46]

Peeling back the accretions of meaning in Mather's account permits the telling of stories that seek to come closer to Goody Glover's outlook and practices as well as those that delve into Mather as an example of ministerial perceptions of threats to the spiritual health of the town and the larger colonial enterprise. It is probable that Glover had been caught up in Cromwell's forced transportation of thousands of Irish subjects to England's American colonies. She could well have been among the eight thousand Catholics in Barbados counted by an Irish Jesuit in 1669, but the precipitating event for her arrival in New England as recounted in early American Catholic histories, her husband's execution in Barbados for refusing to renounce Catholicism, is probably a hagiographic invention. Barbadian officials pursued a containment rather than a general extirpation policy toward Irish Catholics, ordering executions in cases of theft or against conspirators in planned rebellions but not simply for refusing to convert.[47] Many indentured servants had their terms sold to inhabitants in other colonies, so the trajectory of Ireland-Barbados-Massachusetts is plausible and one that other Gaelic-speaking women traveled, even if Glover herself was not one of them. By 1688, Glover had been in Massachusetts for at least six years and probably much longer.[48]

Her widowed status meant that some time before 1688 she had been able to complete her indenture and marry, but that upward economic trajectory did not continue for long.

Like many other widows in seventeenth-century New England, Glover's economic existence was precarious.[49] Before hauling the heavy buckets of water and loads of wood, making soap, stirring boiling vats of clothes and bedding in harsh lye, scrubbing the dirt out of the heavy, waterlogged fabric, rinsing and wringing the items before laying them out to dry, then wrangling the heavy irons to smooth the wrinkled cloth became too difficult for her aging limbs and joints, she had first contributed to and then, after her husband's death, been the support of her household through her work as a washerwoman.[50] Once she was unable to perform such physically demanding labor, her daughter took over. That Glover felt invested in her daughter's work and reputation shows in the verbal exchange that Mather pinpointed as the beginning of the witchcraft. After Martha Goodwin accused the younger Glover of stealing some of her family's linen, the older Glover "in her daughters Defence bestow'd very bad Language upon the *Girl* that put her to the question."[51] Mather does not specify whether her imprecations were in English or Gaelic. Regardless of the language in which Glover uttered the comments, such behavior and defense of dependents was considered part of good household government when enacted by an appropriate head of household. But when that head of household had a marginal status because of some combination of gender, age, freedom status, or economic standing, an orderly action became the source of disorder and even, in the Glovers' case, diabolical effects.

The intimate access afforded to employers' lives through the handling of bedding and garments worn next to the skin, as well as the independence and mobility of earning a wage while living outside the control of any single employer or a husband, cast doubt on the sexual chastity of all laundresses but especially of those who were single or widowed.[52] This connotation of sexual promiscuity is evident in Mather's description of Glover in *Magnalia Christi Americana* as "a scandalous *Irish* Woman in the Neighbourhood." In his earlier account of the case in *Memorable Providences*, Mather referred to her as "an ignorant and a scandalous old Woman in the Neighbourhood." His quick emphasis on her Irish origin in the later publication, a tome that many scholars have interpreted as an apologia for his role in the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692, suggests his effort to call immediately to his readers' minds long-standing English perceptions of Irish women as sexually wanton and generally disorderly.[53]

Late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century English commentators leveled many of the same critiques against the Irish that they did against West Africans and, later, Native peoples along the eastern coast of North America as deficient in their regulation of their bodies in terms of definitions of cleanliness, types of dress, and sexuality. Fynes Moryson was one of the most pointed in his assessment of "meere" or Gaelic Irish women as "nasty with fowle lynnen, and have very great Dugges some so bigg as they give their Children sucke over theire shoulders," the same image of beastly motherhood Europeans perpetuated about Africans. Not only was it the case that "maryage was rare" and "the stayne of Basterdy" disregarded, he reported that "Some say that commonly the weomen have litle or no payne in Chyldebearing." As if avoiding Eve's curse of pain in childbirth was not enough indication of Irish women's barbarous state, they were so sexually voracious that "wemen delivered of Children did after the sixth day addmitt theire husbandes to lye with them." Such a state of affairs had developed "because they are brought up in liberty and with loose apparrell," with men wearing "long and large s[k]hertes coulored with Safforn, a preservative against lyce" while both women and men wore long mantles, a type of cloak.[54] Edmund Spenser described the mantle as "a coverlet for her lewde exercise" of extramarital sex that could then hide the growing belly of a resulting pregnancy and finally after the infant's birth serve as "swadling clouts." Nor were these bodily practices and conditions all that separated Irish savagery from English civility. Moryson connected the filth of Irish bodies and the "slovenly and sluttish" condition of their houses and clothing to the corruption of their religion when he enumerated the "four beasts that plague Ireland namely, lyse upon their bodyes, Rats in theire howses, Wollves in their fieldes and swarmes of Romish Priests tyranising over their Consciences."[55]

The significance of Goody Glover's Catholicism was as central to Mather's version of her story as it was to those written by historians of American Catholicism, although they held radically different viewpoints on its meaning. For Mather, Glover's profession that she was "a Roman Catholick" and her possession of "*Magical Images*," objects that he also described as "*Poppets*," "*Puppets*," and "*Babies*," denoted the ease with which Catholic rituals crossed over into communion with the devil, while for Catholic historians, the witchcraft accusation was an excuse for persecuting a Catholic woman who possessed Catholic icons and refused to renounce her faith.[56] In addition to the information that Glover was able to "recite her *Pater-noster* in Latin very readily," a mark of rote

Catholic learning in someone who could speak no other Latin, Mather's extended account of the spectral afflictions suffered by the oldest Goodwin daughter specifically linked the malevolent forces at work on the girl to what he saw as deviant religion. When asked to read the Christian Bible or if anyone in the room read it, Martha Goodwin was taken with torments. A catechism by Mather's grandfather John Cotton "would bring hideous *Convulsions* on the Child if she *look't* into" it, while she could read books of jests, "A *popish Book*," the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer*, and a "*Quaker's Book*" without trouble.[57] No one who heard Mather's original sermon or read it in its printed form would have missed the familiar puritan charge that Church of England practice was far too close to its Roman Catholic antecedents, nor the one likening Quakers to "papists."

A recent treatment of Glover's case considered her actions as ones of a Catholic in the largely hostile environment of the English Atlantic, struggling to nourish her faith with homemade versions of religious icons and "confused mimicry" of Catholic priests' actions during mass.[58] While this elucidation of Glover's situation as a Catholic far away from any priest and her efforts to create the material culture she needed to sustain her faith practices is important, it is necessary to go even further in considering the possible influence of her Irish origin and how that may have shaped her performance in court and under interrogation. English observers in Ireland had difficulty defining the Gaelic-inflected behaviors and bodies they saw as Christian, with Moryson observing that "in all thinges they intermix barbarous Customes," such as tying a piece of silver to the edge of a baptized infant's blanket.[59] Glover's insistence on speaking only in Gaelic through translators may well have been a result of her "imperfect" spoken English as Shona Johnston has suggested, but it may also have been an assertion of her operation in a foreign system, a nonelite version of the practice followed by many Irish leaders in their interactions with English elites.[60] Or, after her initial aggressive speech to Martha Goodwin, she may have been trying to show herself to be properly modest by not speaking English in the presence of male authorities, as Moryson noted of Irish Catholic (both Gaelic Irish and "old English Irish") women "who could speake English as well as ourselves, yet durst not speake it with us if their husbands or their Fathers were present."[61] Mather introduced another explanation, which he reported originated with the unnamed translators: that she was the victim of witchcraft herself "by another *Witch* . . . to prevent her telling Tales, by confining her to a Language which 'twas hoped, no body would understand."[62]

Influencing the actions of others by laying charms and enlisting the help of unseen beings was a part of folk Gaelic practice that, as did their counterparts in much of Europe and Europe's American colonies, continued to inflect the spiritual practices of self-identified Christians.[63]

As Glover wrapped thread around the cloth, stuffing the resulting pouch with goat's hair and other bits of fluff that were at hand, she may have thought of childhood experiences of being shown an icon and instructed in how to use it to help her pray for the saint's assistance with reaching God.[64] Making the objects smoothed access to the divine and was one step in making some space her own in the world in which she found herself. In court, she "snatched" one of the images up because she had thought it lost forever into the hands of these hostile puritans. Understanding that they thought her a witch, she was eager to demonstrate that she was simply acting as a faithful Catholic. Perhaps her example might even show some of these deluded Protestants, sadly fallen away from the true church, how to conduct themselves as members of the real body of Christ. Alternatively, her angry words to Martha Goodwin may only have been one expression of her distaste for the English, the interchange a catalyst for Glover to demonstrate her powers to manipulate the unseen world. She knew the danger of a conviction, but the court's questions made it clear that they already thought her a witch.

English puritans were aware of the competing logics of space as embodied by Irish Catholics and English Quakers. In both cases, they worried about alliances that operated outside the lines of authority in the English empire. Irish Catholics were doubly suspect: colonized Europeans, they owed allegiance to the foreign and perditious power of the pope. Quakers, too, had their own structure that transcended political boundaries, and they challenged authority in ways that made them a nuisance to those in power. Quaker and Irish experiences in puritan colonies demonstrate that religious performance could make someone an outsider, a troubling faithful body that worked from a conflicting worldview and definition of community. As distinct entities, Irish and Quakers unsettled any full association between "European" and "Christian" in different ways. Religion worked as a means to create difference in the puritan Atlantic, and in these cases cut across emerging concepts of race that conflated lighter skin color and free, Christian status. Irish Catholics were not tied to an inherited slave status and Irish Catholic men were sometimes able to reach prominence, even officeholding, if they took on some measure of English cultural behavior, but they remained suspect if they performed their status as a member of a

separate body of Christ too openly. Taken together, the incidents of crisis examined in this chapter demonstrate the continuing puritan perception of the dangers of Catholic bodies in their midst at the same time that the larger context denotes the increasing significance of skin color as opening the pathway into a measure of inclusion in the body politic.

As the following two chapters explore, Christian southern Algonquians, or "praying Indians," and the baptized children of the first Africans and Indians brought to Bermuda offer competing examples of the intersections of religious and racial difference. After King Philip's War, puritans in New England were mostly unwilling to view Natives as fellow members of the body of Christ, while in Bermuda, the Christianity of Bermudians of color seemed less disturbing, as long as they remained enslaved. White Bermudians allowed Bermudians of color freedom from sin (in a Christian worldview), but they insisted that freedom from physical slavery would mean exile from what had become their homeland.

7 / "To bee among the praying indians"

In June 1676, as the coalition of Nipmucs, Pocumtucks, Narragansetts, and Pocasset and Pokanoket Wampanoags began to run out of food, ammunition, and other supplies in their fight against the English, Mohegans, Pequots, Niantics under the leadership of Ninigret, and most Christian Indians of various tribal affiliations, English officials called on James Quanapohit to give testimony about the allegiance and activities of Wuttusacomponum, also known as Captain Tom, during the previous winter. Quanapohit, a Christian Nipmuc who had lived in the praying town of Nashaway before the outbreak of King Philip's War, had served as a spy among the anti-English Indians. He reported that he heard Wuttusacomponum say that he had not left the praying town of Hassanamesitt to go to "enemy" Indians voluntarily, but neither had he been content to go to the barren Deer Island when the English had forced Christian Indians there. Quanapohit reported other information supporting Wuttusacomponum's contention that he had not joined forces with English enemies: his behavior in stressful situations more closely matched acceptable English rather than Algonquian actions. The "enimy" had mocked Wuttusacomponum's masculinity, saying that because he "& som others of the indians carried captive . . . cryed when they were caried away," they were "more like squas then men." Both southern Algonquians and English considered prowess in warfare closely tied to ideas of manhood, but acceptable responses to pain often differed. Moreover, Wuttusacomponum had told him directly that "he was weary of liveing among those wicked indians, & greatly desired to bee among the praying indians &

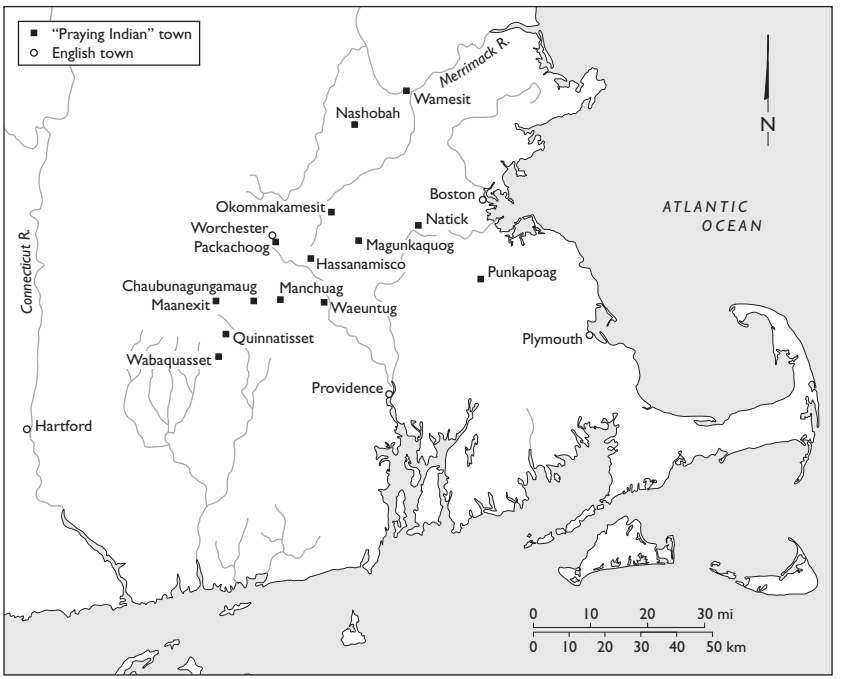

Figure 7.1. Praying Indian towns, ca. 1675.

english againe; if hee could find any opertunity to escape & bee accepted with the English."[1]

Being "among the praying Indians" and finding acceptance "with the English" became much more difficult during and after King Philip's War engulfed much of what the colonists called southern New England. New England was certainly not a harmonious paradise before the war. Although there were areas of peaceful cooperation between colonists and Natives, as well as successful alliances against mutual enemies, when the balance of power enabled the English to subject Natives to unequal legal treatment, they generally did so. Courts in Plymouth and Massachusetts more frequently dispensed corporal punishment to Native offenders and were distinctly lackluster in their prosecution of English offenders in cases with Native victims. In contrast, those on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, as well as in Connecticut and Rhode Island, were more evenhanded.[2] But for most English, the war and its aftermath sharpened unease about whether they could truly be part of the same body of Christ as Indians.

Before and after King Philip's War, praying Indians continued to assert that they were indeed Christians and to embrace that identity as a means to strengthen community bonds and kin networks.[3] By their clothing, their behavior, and their built environment, Native puritans asserted a layered definition of faithful bodies that included membership in a specific tribe, linked to a specific place, and in a body of Christ. Christian Wampanoag women, among others, took on some English standards of godly cleanliness while they continued to perform the skilled gendered labor of weaving mats to maintain the walls, floor, and decoration of their dwellings. Many Native women and men worked as servants in English households, forms of labor that puritan missionaries praised. That labor also had meaning outside of an English context, however. The same actions lauded as evidence of assimilation to English puritan "civility" enabled Christian Natives to maintain their communities in an often hostile environment. In addition to these concretely physical performances, Native Christians enacted their understandings of the body of Christ in petitions and deathbed accounts that connected the oral and ephemerally performative to the material object of ink on paper. Their constructions of faithful bodies that were both Christian and Indian cut across English puritan notions of the intersections between race and religion.

"Generally clothed as the English"

Mainland Native Christians were caught between two incompatible visions of southern New England, neither of which had a comfortable place for them. It is not that conversion to Christianity meant that they were no longer truly Indian and yet not completely English, but rather that Natives adhering to traditionalist practices increasingly shared with the English an idea of the inhabitants of New England as either being English and Christian or being Indian.[4] In becoming Christian and acquiescing to some aspects of English oversight and government, praying Indians had removed themselves from the influence and authority of those who had joined Philip in concluding that some kind of pan-Indian alliance was the only way to survive the aggressive English tendency to see all Native peoples as one. Kinship connections broached that divide when those relationships existed, but could not always overcome community-level mistrust.[5]

Even once the fighting was over in southern New England, related conflicts continued to the north and east. The largely self-fulfilling colonial policies that treated all Indians as suspect and dangerous, status as

Christian or traditionalist allies notwithstanding, encouraged nearly all English to view their coreligionists in mutually exclusive racial terms.[6] A series of conflicts in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries kept colonists wary.[7] Although King Philip's War was an important local precipitator in this racialized articulation of religion, the shift echoed and connected to a changing attitude in other English colonies. In Virginia, for example, violent conflicts in 1622 and 1676 marked sharp alterations in how colonial officials defined the categories of *Christian*, *Indian*, and *Negro*. Instead of considering Natives and Africans to be potential Christians, most Anglo-Virginians came to view them as hereditary heathens, inherently incapable of becoming Christian. Although some Africans and Indians, as well as some common Anglo-Virginians, contested these new boundaries, the majority of colonists reinforced them through legal and extralegal means.[8]

Most English decried praying Indians who, in fighting the English, fought fellow members of the body of Christ, failing to see those actions as a consequence of the English denial of the Native body politic and their disregard for the terms of alliances and contracts with various tribes. Instead, the English explanation for why some Native Christians fought against English Christians was that Indians were in fact an undifferentiated group whose very being barred them from the possibility of membership in the body of Christ and therefore from the body politic. This belief that an inherent contradiction existed between "Christian" and "Indian" was not as strong among Quakers, who saw events as God's punishment for puritan executions and economic persecution of Friends.[9] The military failure of Philip and others who attempted to create a coalition across historical tribal enmities against the English helped to make simply being Indian—as well as being a praying Indian—in southern New England more difficult, the very situation they had feared and fought to avoid.[10]

For the few missionaries who continued to be interested in the project to convert Indians, the challenge was that Natives "indigenized" Christianity—that is, rather than practicing Christianity exactly as did the English, they took in the new influences (as they had always done) while continuing older elements of material culture and social organization. Such an approach led even some English who were sympathetic to the ideal of converting Indians to harbor doubt about its efficacy. In his 1694 letter included in Matthew Mayhew's *Conquests and Triumphs of Grace*, John Gardner saw "cause of *Thankfulness*" in "God Raising up some, yea even of *Themselves*, Preachers and Serious men too, some of them"

on Nantucket, but he also "Lamented" a "decay" caused by "their being more mindful of *Form* than *Substance*." As part of a dispute with John Eliot over infant baptism written no earlier than 1679, Roger Williams doubted that Native conversions could be "true," even if they "might speak [or] do some[thing] as they are taught" in the same rote way that Catholic converts might.[11]

Puritan missionaries tried to transform Natives' social and bodily behavior as well as redirecting the focus of their spiritual devotion. Samuel Treat, John Eliot, Daniel Gookin, the Mayhews, and others tried to get Natives to dress in English clothes according to English practice, to move and comport themselves as the English did, to work at similar tasks in similar ways, to live in English frame houses, and to privilege kin relations centered on a man, his wife, and their progeny. For their part, puritan Natives adopted these practices selectively. One Nipmuc man, Wompas, took on the name John White as well as English dress, language, and habitation. He was so successful in his endeavor to practice these behaviors that he and his wife, Ann, appeared without the label of "Indian" in Boston town records before King Philip's War.[12] While members of the Martha's Vineyard churches were "generally Cloathed as the English," they and other puritan Natives continued to use adornments such as wampum and turtle-shaped buttons that held strong associations with manitou.[13]

Just as Native Christians varied in how they dressed themselves, the kin of the deceased displayed a range of mortuary practices. Some burials incorporated elements introduced by the English, such as arranging the corpse in an extended, face-up position with the head toward the west—instead of a flexed position oriented toward the southwest—even as they continued the older practice of including grave goods. In the early eighteenth century, those who prepared the Narragansett sachem Ninigret extended his corpse and wrapped it in traditionalist woven mats, which they placed in a wooden coffin along with offerings that included tobacco, bread, cornmeal, and rum.[14] Archaeological research has uncovered nearly identical small slipware mugs from the praying towns of Magunkaquog, Natick, and Punkapoag.[15] Given the seventeenth-century English puritan preference for cups of domestic shape for use in the Lord's Supper, these mugs raise the possibility that Native church members interred vessels used for the Lord's Supper as grave goods.[16]

The very creativity and flexibility of Native Christians disturbed most English who wanted an easy way to tell if someone was friend or foe.

As many scholars have vividly demonstrated, physical appearance and behavior were fundamental in signaling age, status, and gender among all inhabitants of early America.[17] English inhabitants caught up in the violence of war tried to impose clear-cut categories with a one-to-one correspondence—Indian and foe, English and friend—on the complex politics of late seventeenth-century New England. The self-presentations of many Native Christians cut across those categories. Edmund Browne, a minister at Sudbury, Massachusetts, who had at one time been involved in missionary work, reconsidered such individuals in a letter he submitted to a magistrate at the quarterly court held in Cambridge in April 1676. He questioned the sincerity of "the generallity of those called praying Indians," having "found them to be persons *nullius veracitatis*, very false, what ever else they pretend." Even though the English had put "great care and paynes" into seeking "conversion of the Indians," his experience with their actions and attitudes of "aversion" and "deriding yea blaspheming the blessed name of Christ and his wayes" had made him conclude that they were "unworthy of the grace of the Gospel." Browne grudgingly acknowledged that Natick Indians had stayed loyal, but thought that the colony should be able to move them somewhere "remote from the English pale" in times of danger. Browne's was only one letter, but it indicates "glaring proof," as Jenny Hale Pulsipher put it, that such a categorical attitude was not limited to uneducated colonists.[18]

"His Linen kept so clean and white"

Experience Mayhew published *Indian Converts* in 1723 as part of missionary efforts to redeem the value of conversion efforts among southern Algonquians in the eyes of the English. Even though island Wampanoags on what the English named Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket had acted as faithful military allies to the English, that performance was not enough to reassure colonists who saw Indians as a dangerous, unassimilable presence. The missionary also wanted to encourage his English readers to follow a godly path, inspired by the exemplary Christian lives of the Wampanoags featured in his book. *Indian Converts* showcased "*Religious Women*" and "*Pious Children*" as well as "*Good Men*."[19] The "Attestation by the United Ministers of *Boston*" that preceded the accounts of Wampanoag lives set up the importance of puritan mission work as key in the fight against those "Missionaries of *Antichrist*" who "are more than can be numbred and . . . are at prodigious Pains to *Propagate* the Romish *Idolatries*." Slightly earlier accounts of missionary

work on Martha's Vineyard also positioned "these *New England* Preachers, and Converts among the *Indians* there" as bulwarks against the Jesuits and their "miserable Converts" who were "full of abominable Idolatries . . . and damned Magical practices." In this schematic, Native Christian bodies were important defenses against an encroaching Catholic threat. Although the ministers' "Attestation" preceding *Indian Converts* made reference to the "sad Story" of Spanish violence and mass conversions, by 1723 the English generally perceived France rather than Spain to be their primary Catholic enemy. That view had been especially strong in New England since the Glorious Revolution in 1689, a view only intensified by King William's and Queen Anne's Wars in the first decade and a half of the eighteenth century.[20]

Experience Mayhew praised the ways he believed that the men and women he featured in *Indian Converts* were godly individuals, engaged in activities that were recognizably industrious to his English perceptions and that followed English notions of proper gender roles. But the 128 biographies, along with Mayhew's negative examples of less godly Wampanoags, offer details of life in a Native community across four generations that tell other stories that Mayhew neither intended nor perhaps perceived. They reveal that "to bee among the praying Indians" still very much meant being in and creating a Native world, although its exact mapping had changed as Wampanoags and their southern Algonquian kin had faced the exigencies of the altered landscape after King Philip's War.[21]

The material details of one woman's biography in particular suggest what Christopher Tilley called "sedimented layers of meaning," although in Sarah Hannit's case the perishable fruits of her labor have formed sediment only in textual form. Unearthing the possibilities for how these long-disintegrated objects might still be considered "inalienable possessions" that convey significant information about the individual who created and used them requires careful consideration of the particular place in which her actions took place.[22] According to Mayhew, Hannit kept her husband, Japheth, who served as a minister in Nashuohkamuk (Chilmark) until his death in 1712, "constantly so well clothed, and his Linen kept so clean and white, that he was always fit to go into the best Company, *and was known in the Gates when he sat amongst the Elders of his People*." A minister's white linen collar made Japheth "always fit" to mingle with the elites of society while also conveying his spiritual and physical purity. Sarah's frequent laundering of multiple collars made those sartorial messages possible. The idea of a lack of physical corruption as a spiritual goal may

have required some adjustment for the Hannits and other Massachusett-speaking puritans. The word for death, *anit*, glossed as "he who exceeds, goes beyond, rots," has strong links to *m'anit*, "sacred, spiritual force, god." Nonetheless, Sarah may have absorbed the Christian association of white linen with purity of soul and as the garment to be worn at Christ's return. Perhaps she examined her thoughts and feelings for evidence of the impression of grace as she washed, bleached, and ironed Japheth's linen, hoping that she too would one day wear its spiritual equivalent.[23] Or she may have expanded her understanding of the spiritual power of white wampum beads to include woven material.

But even as Mayhew lauded Sarah's ability to fulfill English standards of godly cleanliness and to perform the labor that kept her husband's linen white, his narrative provided evidence of the continuation of older aesthetics. Calling Hannit "one of those *wise Women that builded the House,* and not of *the foolish ones that plucked it down with their Hands*," he quoted Proverbs 14:1, following with a detailed account of her wétu (wigwam). According to Mayhew, "the Matts, or platted Straw, Flags and Rushes with which it was covered, being wrought by her own Hands; and those of them that appeared within side the House, were neatly embroidered with the inner Barks of Walnut-Trees artificially softened, and dyed of several Colours for that end." The technique Sarah Hannit used was most likely what is termed false embroidery, in which the outer woof is wrapped with the dyed cord during weaving, rather than after finishing as in needlework embroidery.[24] Daniel Gookin observed similar handiwork, although he was more detailed in his descriptions of baskets than of mats: "Some of their baskets are made of rushes; some, of bents; others, of maize husks; others, of a kind of silk grass; . . . and some, of barks of trees; many of them, very neat and artificial, with the portraitures of birds, beasts, fishes and flowers, upon them in colours. Also they make mats of several sorts, for covering their houses and doors, and to sleep and sit upon."[25] Rather than adopting English modes of behavior wholesale, praying Indians continued to live in houses and households that maintained many material continuities with those who did not become Christian and continued to hearken wholly to Hobbomock, Cautantowwit, Cheepi, Kiehtan, and other more familiar other-than-human persons.[26]

The specific composition of the designs of Hannit's mats, or those made by other Native Christians, have not survived beyond these general descriptions. They may have been much the same as those found on a decoration or button at Cocumscussoc in which a dotted outline

surrounds V-shaped fields with arrowhead borders arranged around a central dot, a design resembling that found on later-eighteenth-century woodsplint baskets, or they may have shared in the general aesthetic but emphasized different geometries. The complexity and size of Hannit's wetu rivaled that of the "chief Sachims," an indication that Christian Natives and English missionaries employed architectural vocabularies of status to enhance their own authority in relations to older forms of leadership.[27] The exact patterns might have spoken to her current position, to the change and flux of her community, as they did in the designs produced by members of other tribes. Tribal anthropologist Gladys Tantaquidgeon and Jayne Fawcett have pointed to the expression of a "pervasive spiritual force" in the Mohegan-Pequot design of a four-domed medallion symbolizing the four primary directions surrounding an empty space, dot, or circle denoting the unseen world. While the design has survived on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century woodsplint baskets, Tantaquidgeon argued that the practice was part of an existing tradition of religious symbolic art.[28]

Although not woven, the decorations on an elm bark box made at the end of the eighteenth century illustrate the ability of Native artists to use motifs to convey symbolic meaning and to address their existence as Christian Indians. The story box, which is in the possession of the Mohegan tribe today, embodies the ties between one Native tribe in part of their original homeland and its members who had seen migration west as their best option for maintaining group integrity. Not only did Brothertown Indians who had moved to Iroquoia (western New York) carefully send the box east to the kin they left behind, but the artist who made it also carved reminders and statements of the twined traditions and histories of the now geographically separate Mohegans, even as the Brothertown settlement united peoples who had historically been in conflict, including Narragansetts, Mohegans, and Pequots. A winding path that encircles the sides of the circular container recalls the journey from birth to death and also makes reference to the trunk of the tree-as-community, while offshoots with triplet leaves resemble the Christian cross.[29]

Regardless of what designs they wove into their mats, Sarah Hannit's and other women's weaving made the connections to past generations and practices obvious to any who entered or drew near to the wigwams of the praying Indians, as well as to those who were invited inside, where they could see the ornate mats with designs created through twining colored fiber around the woof during the weaving process. To Sarah

and Japheth, her skill at weaving enhanced his and their social status in Nashuohkamuk in ways much the same as it would have before the arrival of the English, although it also marked a newly defined competition between the status of praying Indians and that defined by preexisting Wampanoag social and political hierarchies. The repetitive actions of twisting, as well as the creative work of maintaining a mental image of the design, connected the weaver to her forebears, most directly to the women who had taught her the skills but by extension to her clan, to all the women who had made the mats that would form the walls of their homes and one day the wrapping for their final journey. Those motions meant that her body would move as her female ancestors' bodies had moved, with quick, exact motions or perhaps looser flourishes, depending on the personality and skills of the weaver. In these movements, she may have felt a connection to power outside her body, to a larger community of Christian women engaged in industrious work, or felt the imprint of divine grace on her soul. As a Christian, her unseen world may no longer have been populated with a multiplicity of other-than-human persons who could command various amounts of manitou. Instead, she may have seen all as oriented either toward or away from God. And as with the unnamed women who prepared the bread for monthly celebrations of the Lord's Supper in colonial English communities or processed manioc in Bermuda, perhaps she considered nothing but the task in her hands, calculating when she must leave the weaving to tend the fire or complete other tasks.

It is not possible to pinpoint definitively the meaning these objects and the environment might have had, either for Hannit or those around her, nor exactly what spiritual resonances they might have held. The objects can speak, but so multivocally that without the historical subject at hand to narrate her interpretation, much uncertainty remains. Perhaps she incorporated crosses similar to those inlaid in wampum on a musket butt carried by a Native Christian soldier from Natick or Punkapoag. She, too, may have called the words of the Proverbs to mind as she wove and sewed, perceiving the Christian God's grace in her ability to act as a godly wife. She or her husband may also have done what the Christian Native community of Magunkaquog did and buried quartz or other potent substances beneath the floor of her wétu. If she or they did, the presence of a substance that in a traditionalist context held powerful associations with manitou would have negated neither the sincerity nor the authenticity of her Christianity.[30] As discussed in chapter 3, English puritans found some substances, such as silver, to be

more spiritually evocative and appropriate than others. The presence of crystals at Magunkaquog—and perhaps in other Christian Native communities—could have functioned in a similar way.

"That she might not eat the Bread of Idleness"

Puritan missionaries saw more at stake in seeing Native women work like English women than simply imposing particular social practices on them. They believed some forms of work, especially when done in service to English households, to be more spiritually significant than others. As Experience Mayhew praised household labor and also spiritually focused work among the Christian Indians of Martha's Vineyard, he made specific reference to Bathsheba, the virtuous woman of Proverbs 31, and her tasks, which included spinning, planting, and trading.[31] The biblical passage was more than a description of ideal behavior: it also imbued those actions with religious significance. Those women who labored at the activities described for Bathsheba were engaged in religious work. In *Indian Converts*, Mayhew selected women who prayed with other women when they were sick, catechized their children, and discouraged drunkenness in their husbands. Most of these women worked as servants in an English household during at least part of their lives. He was careful to note that they took time out from their assigned duties to pray. Wampanoag women's work, in Mayhew's eyes, was not worthy of praise in and of itself. Rather, he valued their work for its Christian meaning; their activities inspired his accolades because they occurred, at least in his perception, in a Christian context and under English supervision. In the English "civilizing" project, proper work patterns were evidence of commitment to Christianity and thus English life. Mayhew saw a place in the puritan body of Christ and body politic for these Native Christian women, but it was a very particular one that existed in subordination to English puritans.

The men whose names appeared in *Indian Converts* received approving adjectives for living up to the ideals of Christian manhood in providing for themselves and their families in ways that Mayhew recognized and for participating in prayer and attending church. Farming and harvesting corn were kinds of work that made sense to Mayhew and that he praised when done by men. For men who had physical constraints that affected the kinds of work they could perform, other activities were also acceptable. In one case he praised Job Sommanan, a "Weaver by Trade," who "wrought much for the *English* as well as the *Indians*" and was thus

able to provide for his family "tho Lame in one of his Legs." Wampanoag women wove baskets and mats, but among the English in New England, weaving remained primarily a male activity until the middle of the eighteenth century. "Whale-Fishing" in the first two decades of the eighteenth century functioned as background information rather than examples of men's diligence and religious dedication.[32] Hunting did not appear in *Indian Converts* at all; game was a less important food source for Wampanoags on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket than it was for more inland peoples. However, even where Native men did engage in extensive game hunting, the English considered it to be neither labor nor a particularly Christian activity because it required interactions with spiritual forces in the form of the prey. Hunting in English culture was limited to the nobility and was not a means of supporting oneself, contributing to community foodstores, or accruing spiritual power.[33]

Mayhew's descriptions of exemplary women included general mention of their "diligent" work with their hands, laboring to support their families. By putting that work in the context of the virtuous woman of the Proverbs, Mayhew ascribed Christian meaning to their actions. Of Rachel Amos, who had eight daughters, Mayhew opined, "I suppose there are scarce any of the eight Daughters whom she brought up, but what have on this Account risen up and called her blessed." Here he paraphrased part of Proverbs 31:28, "Her children arise up, and call her blessed." One of those eight daughters, Abigail, worked "diligently with her Hands, that she might not eat the Bread of Idleness," which called to mind the twenty-seventh verse, "She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness." The "good works" that Dinah Ahhunnut performed before she died in 1684 "praised her," as in the final verse of Proverbs 31, "Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates." Sarah, the third wife of Japheth Hannit, discussed above, "prov'd a very pious Person, and did *him Good and not Evil all the Days of her Life*," a reference to Proverbs 31:12.[34]

As did most Wampanoags in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Hannah Ahhunnut worked as a servant in an English household, most likely in Nashuohkamuk some time before her death in 1704.[35] Mayhew was careful to note that throughout the day, she "made conscience of retiring for secret Prayer."[36] Ahhunnut also engaged in religious activities with other Natives, praying "with and for" women who were sick, although Mayhew was quick to add that she only did so when there were no men available "for whom it might be more proper"

to pray for an ill neighbor. Ahhunnut offers one example of complex shifts in religious practice. Attending birthing women in labor to pray with them was one of her exemplary activities that Mayhew enumerated. The focus of her prayer may have been new, but its midwifery context may not have been. Although there was a range of practice among the Narragansett, Nipmuc, Wampanoag, Pequot, and Mohegan tribes of New England, Native women generally gave birth alone or with one companion, with friends and relatives close by. In addition to serving as a midwife, she also helped to instruct Saconets in Christian practice. Ahhunnut's biography suggests that her religious work in the Christian Wampanoag community may have challenged her subordinate position in an English Christian household; at the very least, she maintained a place of note in the Wampanoag community through those practices.[37]

Although puritan practice did contain an important material element that found spiritual meaning through analogy to aspects of the divine, in Protestant theology broadly defined it was more the repetitive nature of household work that offered a chance for spiritual meditation than the intrinsic or acquired characteristics of any object.[38] In contrast, while Algonquian converts came from cultures that esteemed the ability to marshal and display the labor that had gone into the creation of particular items such as wampum belts, the value of many items in exchange with other persons did come from the intrinsic characteristics of objects. In the case of wampum, for example, the men who made the beads and the women who wove the belts were engaged in spiritual work because of the substance itself and the relationships and "transformation[s] in Native space" to which they gave physical form, not primarily as a consequence of the repetitive nature of shaping small pieces of shell and drilling holes in them, or stringing the finished beads and weaving them.[39]

The work that Mayhew so carefully chronicled and its unseen resonances were not the only performances through which Christian Natives constituted their corporate bodies. They also mobilized the power of literacy to assert their faithfulness as part of the body of Christ as well as their existence as tribal members and their continued connections to kin and land.

"Christian" vs. "Indian" and King Philip's War

Vacillating between drawing on the warfare skills of Native men and excluding them from the defense of the body politic by ordering their disarmament, colonial officials and ordinary colonists both needed and feared Native Christian fighters. The proclamation of a day

of humiliation in Massachusetts in 1676 referred to "this present war with the barbarous heathen" even as many Christian Indians served as scouts whom the English had to release from their captivity on Deer Island to enable their service.[40] One such scout, a Nipmuc man named Job Kattananit, petitioned the governor and council of Massachusetts Bay in February 1675/6 to allow him to return "among the Indians your enemies" to retrieve his three children whom he had found "with the enimy together with som of my friends; that continue their fidelity to God & to the English." If the governor and council so pleased, they could send "an English man or two" to accompany him "to goe forth to see to meet & bring in my poor children & some few godly [Chris]tians."[41] More than just an attempt to reunite with his biological kin, Kattananit wanted to reconstitute his larger community. Even across battle lines, he had friends who were ready to aid his reunion with his children, an alliance he wanted to repay by helping them to escape. Although the council granted his petition and allowed him to go alone, an army officer hostile to Native Christians raised doubts about his intentions and wanted the English to pursue him, delaying Kattananit long enough that he missed the rendevous with his children. Instead, his children and an Indian minister's family were met by English soldiers who, after seizing their belongings, passed them along to the sympathetic Major Thomas Savage. Savage recognized the party as including Kattananit's children and arranged for them to be sent to Marlborough, where they were meant to be safe. However, the English residents harassed the refugees to such an extent that some of them fled the night of their arrival.[42] Kattananit's petition provides a vivid example of a praying Indian conception of community as including English and Natives, while the events after his return demonstrate many colonists' negation of that construction.

The petition draws into focus the overlapping conceptual maps of southern New England as navigated by Native people, both those who primarily made appeals to the Christian God and those who looked for the other-than-human persons who had always populated their homeland. Kattananit's appeal, couched in terms meant to appeal to the English officials who had the authority to grant his request, was a performance of his facility with English forms of communication, address, and lines of authority. He framed himself as an appropriately humble servant who acknowledged the Christian God's hand in directing events, and expressed his willingness to serve the English in battle even "to the Hazard" of his life. But his petition also drew on Native understandings of the common pot of the Northeast. That language of weaker subordinate

to more powerful superior carried a substantially different valence in Algonquian communications than it did among the English: demonstrating one's lowliness obliged reciprocation in the form of assistance, or the one petitioned forfeited the right to lead.[43] Kattananit's petition was by no means a formal history, and yet it contained a family history in miniature as well as hints of the contours of an entire Native Christian community. His petition suggests the ways that the activity of writing—even if done by proxy through a scribe—could also serve as the "rememberment" of the "communal body," that is, both as a memorial of a community under threat and as a way to re-create and repopulate that community. Writing was a performance through which those associated with it could access power, and the texts that resulted were multivalent rather than entirely controlled by English concerns. Expanding James Axtell's treatment of literacy as limited to the printed word, Lisa Brooks has explored the way that petitions built on Native writing practices such as birch-bark scrolls, or *awikhiganak* in Abenaki, and wampum belts that emphasized the relationships among humans and other-than-human persons, landmarks, and waterways. The emphasis on the act and power of writing also applied to Algonquians who lived in more southern parts of the "common pot" of the Northeast.[44]

Literacy could serve to strengthen connections among Natives throughout the region; it did not always mean the weakening of older ways of remembering and recalling the past, of knowing who they were and who they had been. When Native Christians wrote in the unprinted spaces of Bibles or other religious tracts, or even when they recorded land transfers, they were not performing the wholesale destruction of their former way of life. Literacy could undermine the authority of oral histories, especially in the context of English-style court systems, when English officials favored the written record over orally based memory in disputed cases. However, the content and form of the marginalia and other documents show that the authors used their skill in this new mode of communication to connect across time with previous and future generations, as well as to state their affiliation with networks of Native Christians.[45]

When Quateatashit, the sachem of Mashshinnah (Buzzards Bay), had William Numuk record his will in 1679, for example, he first located his sachemship in relation to other places, describing himself to be "of the island between Kakapattanit and Panakkossut; the island is called Mashshinnah." He bequeathed the island and all the "land, all trees, and all grass and everything that is there" to his four children "forever, as

long as the earth exists," linking to future generations by asserting the bequest was to be "in all their posterity forever and ever and long as they have descendants." The repetition of "land, all trees, and all grass" connected to the contents of the landscape as a lived place, much more than a two-dimensional representation on a piece of paper. Similarly, when the sachem Aspohteamuk gave the same island to Nahtonsahpun in 1703, he granted everything "within . . . the boundaries, each thing, trees, grass, stones" and described the boundary in a circular manner, ending with "then it goes to the beginning." That ever-moving journey around the bounds of the bequest suggested a sense of the living forces that inhabited those boundaries.[46] In the hands of Native authors, writing could be a path to the assertion of a Native body and a means for its reassembling. Continuing links to memory practices, Native writers laid claim to a vital community body through their literacy, invoking oral practices of remembering as well as joining anew the currently living members of the communal body to those who were now ancestors.[47]

The 1679 appeal of English inhabitants of Narragansett Country to the king over land claims exhibits a very different postwar sense of place and boundaries, one that excluded Indians from human society and pushed them off the map of civilized habitation. This shift is most noticeable in how the petitioners recounted the situation before and after the war. As the petitioners told it, in 1637, Richard Smith emigrated from Gloucestershire to Taunton, and then to the Narragansett Country, where he traded with the "natives," who gave him "land to sett his house on." He asked "neighbours from New England" to come settle after growing "wearie of living alone in a desolate wildernesse" with only "plenty of Indians and wild creatures." Certain individuals, the petitioners, did relocate. All their "visible estates" were destroyed by the war that they claimed to have foreseen, "so that it became a desolate wildernesse againe; and instead of Christian people, replenished with howling wolves and other wild creatures." The "New England neighbours" became "Christian people"; "Indians" and "natives" were now subsumed under "wild creatures," whereas before they had been a separate if related category.[48] Kattananit's petition had drawn the boundary around the body of Christ in such a way as to include Indians, but the English petition and proclamation placed Natives with wild animals, outside the Christian community. There was precedent in colonial law: in 1675, a Plymouth court had mandated that the only gunfire within that colony not subject to a fine was that aimed "att an Indian or a wolfe."[49] The trope of Natives as animals, especially wolves, was a lasting one: in 1703, Northampton

minister Samuel Stoddard wrote to Massachusetts governor Joseph Dudley to suggest that the English "Hunt the Indians with dogs . . . as they doe Bears." He compared them to wolves, the animal scourge of the English colonies: "they act like wolves & are to be dealt withall as wolves" because in his view, they attacked without reason or warning.[50]

"If we did grudge them a Living upon their own Earth"

Many of the targets of this violence and vitriol did not share the English belief that Indians could not be Christians because of some fundamentally different essence. Making a clear separation between Christian and Indian was not as easy as the English petitioners of Narragansett Country, or those who wished to execute all captured Natives, might have desired. Other Natives, in addition to those working as scouts, recognized and claimed their Christianity and that of their friends as corollary proof of their fidelity to the English. They made a claim on the body of Christ, linking themselves to the English through their common status as members of the body of Christ. And in 1680, when the New England Company for the Propagation of the Gospel paid Christian Indians for their service in King Philip's War, they recognized that the labels of "Christian" and "Indian" were not mutually exclusive.[51]

Ministers and missionaries Daniel Gookin and John Eliot emphasized the practices of Native Christians, even after the trauma of the war.[52] In 1683, Eliot noted the spiritual scars left by King Philip's War, informing his patron Robert Boyle that among Christian Indians "many of the younger sort, since the wars (where their souls received a wound) have declined, and too much miscarried, yet now (through the grace of Christ) they are on the repenting and recovering hand."[53] Repenting and recovering involved practicing the ordinances of prayer and attending Sabbath service. Praying Indians continued to worship and even provided a model for other Native groups near the English to use as one strategy for survival.[54] Residents of the praying town Natick whose last words were published in John Eliot's *Dying Speeches & Counsels of Such Indians as Dyed in the Lord* expressed the belief that their community would continue in the future through their advice to their children to "strongly pray to God" and "hear diligently your menisters." The town's first Indian minister, Daniel Takawampbait, recorded the speeches and then read them to Daniel Gookin, who gave transcriptions to Eliot to translate. Even if it is problematic to determine specific inflections of words and phrases through all those layers, their original context of a

rite within the praying Indian community of Natick provides evidence of at least some praying Indians' understanding of the body of Christ and the importance of connection to their spiritual leaders.[55]

Christian Natives tried to use membership in the body of Christ as an entrée into the body politic and consequently the ability to control community resources. Land was among the most significant of these. Competing land use caused many conflicts in southern New England, among English towns and Natives, among Native lineages, and among English towns and colonies. Each group saw land as the necessary basis for its community. When the Indians of Natick disagreed about the disposition of lands under their control after King Philip's War, one party tried to deploy the rhetoric of religious community to its advantage. In petitions lodged with the Massachusetts General Court, William Ahhaton and others emphasized that they "have been and are aproved friends to the English." They finished the petition with a list of their rulers and the name of the "pastor of the church at Natick," a reminder to the Court that these Natives were Christians and thus fellow members of the body of Christ.[56]

Wampanoags of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Mashpee also created a Native body of Christ that supported its members in autonomous communities. Although English colonists lived on the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, they were concentrated in small areas. Natives' relative geographic isolation from the bulk of the English colonists in these locations made it easier to maintain indigenous control over societal and governmental organization. Leaders from inside the community found strength and a basis for group identification in Christianity.[57] The Wampanoags shaped the body of Christ through their attention to aspects of religious practice that made sense to them, asking questions and demanding teachers from the English. They and other Native Christians in New England emphasized to the English, over and over, that *Christian* and *Indian* were not incompatible identities. Native Christians reminded the English that *Christian* was not limited to *English* or even *European*.

The presence of the Catholic French and their Native allies further complicated an opposition between *Christian* and *Indian*, as Catholic Natives were, to the English, identifiably not "heathen" but were something that was perhaps worse, "papists." Although the number of Haudenosaunees, Wendats, Innus (Montaignais), Wabanakis, and others who considered themselves to be Catholics remained small through the middle of the seventeenth century, by the end of the seventeenth

century many of New England's military foes in three directions (west, north, and east) were Catholic.[58] The military and political threats they variously posed to English settlements were not only substantial in and of themselves, many of them were allied with the French. Even though the motivations for their attacks were often different from those of their European allies, the end effect of destruction and death for the English was often the same.

Scholars have emphasized the range of reaction to Christianity by Natives in what Europeans called New France and the province of Maine. As in southern New England, these reactions ranged from acceptance to rejection, often with conflicting strategies taken by different groups within the same villages. In many cases, Natives who early identified with Catholicism were important in further conversion efforts.[59] Most graves at the Wendat mission of Sainte-Marie (in modern Midland, Ontario) exhibited deathways that drew on Native as well as French Catholic practice. In one particularly suggestive example, a Christian man was buried in a coffin on his side with flexed knees with rosary beads, an iron knife, a pewter pipe, and a bundle of bones that was probably his deceased wife's skeleton. Wendat initial burial was a scaffold; as part of the Feast of the Kettle (Feast of the Dead), community members removed the bones, cleaned them, and bundled them for corporate reburial. In this case, the Christian man had his wife's bundle placed in his coffin instead, a practice not mentioned in the *Relations* kept by the Jesuits about mission activity.[60]

The careful process of evaluation and reevaluation of Catholicism as well as the intricacies of the balance of power among the Natives and French in what the English thought of as New France was neither New England colonists' main concern nor, for the most part, something they well understood. When Cotton Mather wrote to Sir William Ashurst about the achievement of peace "after some sort" with Abenakis and Haudenosaunees, he described them as "our Frenchified Indians eastward," and promised that "efforts to Christianize them will soon be made." Mather requested pardon for the "solecism" of opposing "Frenchified" and "Christianized," but since he was writing about the activities of the Company of the Propagation of the Gospel to its London director and patron, the men would have agreed about the categorical opposition.[61] The commissioners who managed the New England Company's disbursement of funds in New England were constantly worried that Natives who had become praying Indians would not stick with the transformation (as the English saw it) and would slide into apostacy—or

worse, would follow the false promises of French missionaries and become Catholics. Granted, the English managing missionary funds used such worries to enhance arguments for greater support from the New England Company: more funds, more goods, more books.

The task of expressing such worry most frequently fell to secretary Samuel Sewall. In the yearly updates he wrote to Sir William Ashurst, Sewall requested that Ashurst work for a fair treaty with the "Eastern Indians" lest "their own Jealousies, and the French Friers, will perswade them that the English, as they increase, and think they want more room, Will never leave til they have crowded them quite out of all their Lands." Sewall connected the grant of reservation lands to success in conversion, arguing "it will be a vain Attempt for us to offer Heaven to them, if they take up prejudices against us, as if we did grudge them a Living upon their own Earth."[62] Sewall recognized that for the English to bring Natives closer to the invisible church of the saved, the members of the body of Christ needed an earthly home on land protected from the expanding English population. The body of Christ could hold no attraction for Natives without some recognition from the English that they constituted a valid body politic.

Southern New England Indians who became Christians disproved Sewall's predictions. Although the English colonial governments continued to restrict Native movement and land without regard to religious affiliation, some tribes and lineages within tribes continued to practice Christianity. In some cases, Native missionaries took matters into their own hands, as with the Wampanoags on Martha's Vineyard who traveled to the mainland at the invitation of some of the Wampanoags there. They were especially active among a portion of the Saconets and converted many of them to Christianity.[63] Along the banks of the Slocum River in part of the township of "Old Dartmouth" (modern South Dartmouth) in Massachusetts, another band of Wampanoags became Quakers some time after 1700. The burial site on Waldo Farm largely followed Quaker deathways of extended burials, shrouds closed at the head with copper shroud pins, plain fieldstone markers, and—to this point uniquely for recovered Native cemeteries—no grave goods.[64]

Tribes and individual Natives embodied what it meant "to bee among the praying Indians" in multiple and frequently conflicting ways. Their performances as Christians belied the New England puritan constriction of the body of Christ after King Philip's War to those who *were* European, a Europeanness that became inextricably linked to skin color. For many

English, acting like them in dress, language, comportment, and habitation was no longer enough. And even if it had been, most Christian Natives would have failed that test because of their widespread continuation of older practices—practices whose meanings might have shifted to take on Christian valences but still appeared to outsiders to be explicitly "Indian" and therefore not Christian. By the end of the seventeenth century, spurred on by the experience of war, most English came to believe that the categories of "Christian" and "Indian" were inherently incompatible rather than merely being currently divergent. Praying Indians called this mutual incompatibility into question, especially in their refusal to acquiesce to English demands that they stop being visibly Indian.

8 / "In consideration for his raising her in the Christian faith"

In several long-term indentures of African and mulatto children in mid-seventeenth-century Bermuda, the contracts specified that the master had use of a person's labor "in consideration for" raising that person "in the Christian faith," and perhaps teaching her or him a trade. Long-term indentured servitude with terms of thirty years for Bermudians of color persisted into the late seventeenth century and sometimes included an apprenticeship in a particular trade; in the healthier Bermudian environment these were not the life indentures that ninety-nine-year terms were. One of these bills even specified the type of Christianity in which the child was to be brought up. Before Francis Jennings left on a ship voyage in 1648, he gave the then unborn child of "Sarah, a Negro woman" to Thomas Hooper for his use. The condition of this grant was "upon consideration that the said Mr. Hooper do bring up and nurture up the same in the faith of Christ and in the principles of the true protestant religion."[1] In Massachusetts, instruction in Christianity was used to justify the mass indentures of Native children after King Philip's War in 1675–76 led the English to try to contain what they increasingly identified as an unstable, dangerous element.[2]

The conjunction of bonded labor and religious instruction highlights the multiple connotations of faithful bodies, as sometimes obedient servants performing labor and as filled with faith, whether drawing from Christianity, African, Algonquian, indigenous Caribbean religions, a mixture of all, or perhaps none. Although it also points to the argument over whether faith-full Christian Africans and Indians could even exist,

or whether something inherent in their physical bodies barred them from the capacity to become Christian, that is not the focus here. Indentures are significant not only for what they have to say about the fight over baptism and its meaning in the context of slavery, but as potential glimpses of the religious performances of the children named in the indentures, and of those who claimed their labor. The stock phrases of indenture contracts were mere suggestions for the actions that followed when they referred to the performance of faith and an enforced requirement in reference to the labor required of the subject of the contract, but some individuals so bound found their own uses for Christianity beyond officials' and sometimes their masters' hope that they would absorb English ways of eating, dressing, farming, governing themselves, and structuring family and gender roles, in addition to any religious principles.[3] Bermudians of color made use of Christian practice in ways that influenced white Bermudians in the development of an understanding of the body of Christ distinct from those emerging in New England. In the island colony, white Bermudians were more likely than their counterparts in New England to assume that those they enslaved were Christian, although that assumption did not translate into open entry into the body politic. Atlantic currents and the rootedness of local existence were both in effect, as intimacies of daily interaction in a particular location gave these indentures contours of negotiated power, even as people and ideas circulated from place to place in ways that smoothed away some of the specificities of geography.

"That shee may learne to know & fear the Lord her Master & mistress['s] God"

While Indian, mulatto, and African children clearly had a different status than English children as English children could not be sold or bequeathed before they were born, the requirement of religious instruction was more than an empty formula. In the cultural context of a strong puritan ethos, language requiring religious instruction in indentures outlined an ideal. The work on Native-language religious publications and other educational efforts continued slowly, but did not stop after King Philip's War and John Eliot's death. In addition to English-funded efforts that operated through institutions such as Harvard College, Wampanoags and other literate Native Christians developed their own outreach.[4] Even individuals who occupied an inferior servile position without the ability to make basic decisions about work and family required religious instruction so that they could be ready to experience

salvation through God's grace. Such religious education clauses in indentures pinpointed the delicate balance in puritan belief between God's action and an individual's ability to participate in her or his own salvation. Indentures required children to learn to read the Bible so that they could prepare themselves to recognize the working of God in their souls. When "Samuel English and Susanna His Wife," two Natives of Natick, signed an eleven-year indenture for their daughter Esther in 1704, they were concerned that she receive English instruction but made no mention of what she would read.[5] However, the general instructional method for reading at the beginning of the eighteenth century was to use the Bible.[6] If Susanna and Samuel English could negotiate the English legal system enough to specify that their daughter become literate as a condition of her indenture, it is likely that they knew that Benjamin and Mercy Whitman would use the Bible to teach Esther. Similarly, when Peter Muckamuck of Hassanamisco indentured his son Joseph to Josiah Holland in 1706, the terms of the eight-year indenture required Holland to teach Joseph to "write & Read, and also the Trade of a Cordwinder" without mentioning raising the boy in any particular way.[7]

Given the shorter terms of indenture, Joseph Muckamuck and Esther English were old enough to be past the age until which the English considered it necessary for the prospective master to inculcate the "fear of God" in their indentured servants. Indentures of English children also only mentioned raising the servant in the fear of God if the individual was quite young at the time of indenture.[8] Parents were supposed to instruct their children in religious matters: when the parents were not to have primary responsibility for children, someone had to take over for them.[9] Colonial laws and colonists' land grabs funneled southern New England Natives into a cycle of debt to such an extent that they sometimes indentured their children as the only way to reliably clothe and feed them, although more often the colonial government decided that Native parents were, by their very Indianness, unfit parents.[10]

New England colonies passed mass indenture laws covering Natives as part of an English effort to control what they saw as a treacherous element after the crisis of King Philip's War. These laws assigned Native children to English families until the children reached the age of twenty-four or twenty-five. Although the specific clauses varied from colony to colony, the basic premise was the same: all Natives were now a dangerous quantity and were qualitatively different from the English. The best way to try to control this volatile population, especially where it pressed too closely on English settlements, was to incorporate it into English

households, and some 1,200 Natives were enslaved under these postwar indenture acts.[11]

There were a few key differences among the laws of the different colonies, however. The text of the Massachusetts act required that such long-term servitude occur only in recompense for exposure to Christianity, whether the parents of the children had been "in hostility with" the English or not. The children of parents who had fought with or lived among "our enemies in the time of the warr" and subsequently been captured and sold "shall be at the disposal of their masters . . . provided they be instructed in civility & Christian religion." The pairing of "civility" or "civilizing" according to English standards and instruction in Christianity appeared twice in the act, revealing the General Court's intent to contain and absorb an unstable element.[12] The hostility of men such as Edmund Brown, explored in the previous chapter, to the existence of Native Christians suggests that this language was frequently ignored in the many households into which Native children were sold. Or perhaps masters proceeded with the "civility" part as far as they felt necessary to reach the appearance of a tractable, obedient servant, one faithful to instructions, if not faith-filled with yearnings toward the Christian God. Whether enforced or disregarded, such clauses in Massachusetts colonial law indicate the underlying assumption that the children so indentured were not Christian, as indeed many of them were not.

The Rhode Island law did not mention instructing Indian servants in Christianity, an absence that grew from Roger Williams's and other elites' conviction that the state should not attempt to direct affairs of religion, as doing so would only make worse an imperfect situation in which churches on this earth were not exact manifestations of the invisible church of the saved. (However, Williams was willing to break that self-imposed ban to attempt to keep Quakers out of power.) For their part, Quakers, who in 1676 had only just been ousted from power, did not make any extraordinary efforts at conversion. In addition, the Rhode Island law concerned the adult "Indians, men or women" seized by the colony's council as a direct result of King Philip's War. The council directed these individuals to be sold into indentures for nine years. The law did not address other indentures that might arise in the future binding Indian children to English households.[13] Even longer-term indentures between Natives and English were rarely formalized into a legal contract in Rhode Island. Such informality was not only a function of the ethnicity of the worker in question, however. English servants-in-husbandry in England who performed similar general duties to those of

Native servants in Rhode Island also frequently worked without a written contract.[14]

Plymouth's law simply directed magistrates to sign indentures for "any of the Indians children" they had already "disposed of . . . to English masters." The concern there was to prevent "future differences" over arrangements already in place, not to provide an overarching structure to regulate Indian indentures in general.[15] Scholars are still investigating the full contours of how these indentures connected to other practices of enslaving Indians in New England. Recent studies of enslaved Natives elsewhere in North America have demonstrated the interplay between existing indigenous practices of slavery and the development of the transatlantic (and intercolonial) African slave trade.[16]

The broader context of indenture as one kind of forced labor informs the following investigation of one Native child in one English minister's household in New England. It is not only the plentiful sermons of puritan ministers that convey their ideas about human difference. We can also find them through imagining the interactions among members of one particular household, based as much on what was not written down as on what was. The belief that Natives were proper objects of missionary outreach and had some hope of joining the body of Christ, as well as the corollary position that they were not already Christian and would have to work hard to become so, intertwined around the shapes of the inked letters and coded symbols in the diary of Boston-area minister Peter Thacher. Such notions were much less pronounced among white Bermudians, who did not see a need to evangelize people already exposed to, and often raised in familiarity with, Christianity. One case cannot, of course, be the basis for broad claims of universality, but it does reveal the very ordinariness of a child indentured for her labor, separated from family and moving through her days and nights from task to task.

Thacher's diary entries for 1679 reveal that Margaret, an enslaved Native woman in his household, took care of the children while the English adults prayed together.[17] Because Thacher only recorded that he paid £10 to a Mrs. Checkley "for an Indian girl called Margaret," we do not know if Margaret came from the nearby Massachusetts communities of Natick or Punkapoag, from a Cape Cod Wampanoag community, or from farther away. Her age was not recorded, but given that Thacher had secured her services in part to help care for his first child, a daughter who was six months old at the time, it is likely that Margaret was born before King Philip's War. Margaret might already have been in service by the time Massachusetts legislators passed the mass indenture laws in 1676,

or she may have been put into service because her parents had lived in Native communities defined by the English as "our enemies." Margaret's situation was increasingly common in the years and decades after King Philip's War. Many Natives who did not flee to distant kin in New France and the Hudson Valley became enmeshed in unequal labor relationships with the English as "pauper apprentices" or indentured servants to pay off their own or parents' debts, a process that accelerated after the war as legal changes favored creditors.[18]

Thacher's standard phrasing in his accounting of his purchase makes it unclear whether she went by Margaret among her kin, whether Mrs. Checkley gave her that name, or even whether Thacher named her. Whatever the origin, the association was not a pleasant one for Thacher. His stepmother's name was Margaret, and he was embroiled in some dispute with her over the administration of his father's estate.[19] Thacher brought the young Native woman into his household several months after the birth of his first child, Theodora, so some of Margaret's time would have been occupied in caring for the infant. She may have wondered why the family would not let her carry Theodora in a cradleboard so she could keep her close and safe while also having her hands, arms, and attention free to complete other work. Or she may have been indentured to her previous owner too young to remember seeing women carrying infants as William Wood described "bound . . . with his feete up to his bumme, upon a board two foote long and one foot broade," or just old enough to remember but not sure how she would have made one, even if the Thachers had allowed her to do so.[20]

Other tasks may have required Margaret to learn new categories of skills as some of the work technology and tasks that were routine for English women differed greatly from those expected of Native women in southern New England. Margaret would likely have been expected to take care of any domestic animals, and perhaps to spin as well. Some Native women and men did adopt livestock keeping to a certain extent, but many more did not.[21] The English servant in the household, Lydia Chapin, may have taught Margaret how to knit, or she may have shown her simple sewing techniques so she could repair the baby's clothing. Mary Rowlandson's narrative of her captivity during King Philip's War highlighted the gulf in English and Native women's respective areas of expertise. Rowlandson was inept in many of the skills required for Native women—gathering food and carrying her share of the load—but her captors valued some of her knowledge quite highly. Rowlandson was able to parlay her knitting and sewing skills into extra food, goods, and

money. For instance, in return for knitting three pairs of stockings, she received "a Hat, and a silk Handkerchief. Then another asked me to make her a shift, for which she gave me an Apron."[22] The sewing would have been a more familiar technique to Margaret than knitting probably was, as Algonquian women sewed woven mats together as well as embellishments onto skin shirts like the ornately decorated one recovered from Cocumscussoc in Rhode Island. Perhaps Margaret demonstrating weaving techniques to Lydia in return, showing her how to soften the fibers of the bark until they were soft enough to work.[23]

Although Thatcher recorded his hopes for his servant Margaret's puritan conversion when she arrived in the household, that "the Lord make her a blesseing to the family & . . . comeing under my roofe a blesseing to her soule that shee may learne to know & fear the Lord her Master & mistress[']s] God," there is no further indication of her religious practices, Christian or non-Christian. It is possible that Thacher mentioned her in the coded portions of his diary, but most of those seem to detail the political and personal divisions in his congregation. The only other mention of her in his diary is not by name. On August 18, Peter Thacher returned from a town meeting in Boston to find that "my Indian girle had like to have knocked my Theodora in head by leting her fall wherefore I took a good walnut stick & beat the Indian to purpose till shee promise never to doe soe any more."[24] As Margaret received the heavy blows on her body, perhaps ducking to protect her most vulnerable parts, she may have wondered once again why her masters insisted that she hold Theodora in her arms, such an unwieldy means of trying to keep an active infant—one who may have been able to take some steps and could probably crawl—away from household dangers. The pain from the thudding impact of the "good walnut stick" could have slowed her realization that Thacher wanted her to promise that she would never let the baby fall again. Before her indenture, she was unlikely to have been familiar with that kind of display of physical power demanding abjection. Such isolating violence may well have pushed her away from any interest she might have felt in the new ways of accessing the unseen world she had observed during the family's devotions. A power that could inspire such negative action was one to be treated very carefully and approached with caution.[25]

Thacher would not have seen any conflict between his physical assault on Margaret's body and his stated concern for her soul, as the belief in original sin—the idea that humans were born with evil tendencies needing to be extirpated—encouraged adults to use corporal punishment to

break the wills of children to the will of the Christian god, as interpreted by the adult. According to that view, better a bruised body than a lost soul. In addition, infliction of corporal punishment was an accepted part of the privileges of the head of an English household. This element of indentures among the English was one that differed sharply from what Native children experienced in their own communities, where adults preferred to guide correct behavior indirectly, refraining even from direct scoldings.[26]

In contrast to the lack of any notation of Margaret's religious activities, Thacher mentioned the Lydia's exertions at secret prayer several times.[27] That he did not mention Margaret's conversion or his further attempts to educate her, whereas he did with the English servant, is suggestive but inconclusive. Perhaps he decided that the need for someone to watch the youngest children and continue necessary household tasks while everyone else was praying took precedence over religious instruction for Margaret, regardless of level or lack of interest in Christianity. Outside his own household, Peter Thacher's interest in bringing Christianity to Natives in the Boston area continued until his death. He received £25 yearly from the New England Company to preach at the praying town of Punkapaog, and was one of eleven ministers who signed the attestation printed at the beginning of Experience Mayhew's account of exemplary Christian Indians on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, *Indian Converts*.[28]

Perhaps even as he continued his missionary activity among the praying Indians at Punkapoag, he did not regard a young Native servant girl as able to join the "little commonwealth" of his household.[29] Those closely lived quarters might have given him all too much information about Margaret's failings and "savage" behaviors. In the same time period, other puritan ministers found praying Indian communities removed from English habitation to be what Sarah Rivett has termed "distant laboratories of grace." In those places and bodies of Christ safely removed from their own, ministers could search for the evidence of divine imprint on Native souls—and thereby on their own—without the disappointments of daily contact.[30] While Thacher may simply have omitted mention of his religious interactions with Margaret and conducted them all the same, it is still indicative of Thacher's differential treatment of the women servants in his household that he mentioned Lydia's efforts but not Margaret's. Another possibility is that the women formed their own religious practice, with Lydia passing on the substance of her discussions with Thacher or her own thoughts on sacred matters.

Or Lydia may have taken the opportunity to exert control over the only person lower than she in the household hierarchy and enacted her own abuse.

Margaret's own religious practice remains obscured. If she had lived a significant part of her childhood in a Native community, perhaps she found time in odd moments to search for a crystal from under a "Thunder-smitte" tree, the physical form of the manitou that had landed on the tree.[31] She may have thought of the women who first guided her hands when she learned to use a mortar and pestle to grind corn. Or she may have become indentured to Mrs. Checkley at a very young age. If she did not have extended contact with Native adults, she would not have received instruction in weaving or other Native techniques of handwork, nor would she have learned how to perceive other-than-human persons or how to read the stories remembered in the land around her.[32]

"Birth among Christians": Children of Color and Indentures in Bermuda

Despite a few threatened plots and revolts, in seventeenth-century Bermuda there was no equivalent event to King Philip's War in terms of its effects on racializing divisions between the English and the Indians and Africans they enslaved. This difference in the experience of large-scale violence meant that colonists in Bermuda and in southern New England began to develop divergent understandings of the body of Christ and its relation to the body politic, although ones that still remained distinct from the explicitly racialized and inheritable religious categories in the Chesapeake. In white Bermudians' minds, *Christian* could overlap with *Indian* or *Negroe* as well as with *English* or *white*. In New England, the aftermath of the war strengthened a sense among many English puritans that every Native person embodied potential danger that should be kept out of the body of Christ, although generally still without recourse to the language of hereditary heathenism. The experience of the war as well as colonists' reactions afterward increased the tendency of eastern Niantics, Wampanoags, Mohegans, Pequots, and others to view themselves as sharing unity as Indians in the following decades, but Bermudians of color did not have such a galvanizing experience. Neither were there sovereign peoples and governments with whom the English made treaties and then betrayed by treating all Indians as one people, and turning on their erstwhile allies when other Native peoples attacked them. Social hierarchy based on a concept of race as inborn and tied to

physical characteristics existed in Bermuda from its earliest settlement, and by the 1630s, so did the institution of chattel slavery. But Africans and Indians, and their island-born children, quickly developed a sense of identity anchored in Bermuda even as they remembered ancestral homes. Enslaved people from all over the island gathered when they could and already had some sense of a broadly inclusive group among themselves and divided from their masters, in contrast to New England, where Native communities and individuals struggled with the question of whether they saw the world as split into *Indian* and *English* or (by the early eighteenth century) *white*.

This island-based affinity existed among the English colonists as well, whose allegiance as Bermudians was moored to overlapping places. Their mental topography sometimes conflicted but, unlike the difference between English landscape and Native homeland, it had existed across a similar stretch of time. Perhaps because white Bermudians did not generally feel overly threatened by Bermudians of color, they were more readily able to accept them as part of the body of Christ, even if their bodies were deemed to carry undesirable characteristics that made them inferior members. Elite white Bermudians did, however, come to see free Bermudians of color as a dangerous element that would unsettle the foundations of racial slavery on the island. Although authorities irregularly enforced the 1676 law exiling free people of color from the island, the threat of that law led at least some to emigrate when they still had some choice over timing and direction rather than waiting until an immediate threat of reenslavement forced them to flee.[33]

In 1663, the sheriff and governor of Bermuda granted the service of Joanna, the child of Penelope, "a mulatto servant of the Somers Island Company," until her twenty-first birthday to Thomas Shaw "in consideration for his raising her in the Christian faith." At the end of that term, Joanna was to receive the usual "two suits of clothing, one for sabbath days and the other for working days." The indentures of the "Negro girl called Rebecca, the daughter of Robert Simon" and "Ruth, a Mulatto child begotten by a Scotsman on the body of Guindelo, one of the Somers Island Company's Negroes" also contained such language.[34] Joanna's story and genealogy suggest that the significance of being raised as a Christian, at least in her case, was more complex and substantial than a stock phrase. Joanna's mother was Penelope Strange, a woman of color enslaved by the Company, who married a white mariner in 1660. Penelope may have named her daughter after Johanna, an African woman who was brought to Bermuda from the Caribbean in 1660. Joanna and

Johanna were not common names. This Penelope could have been the six-year-old Penelope listed as the daughter of Sander and his wife, Katalena (Catalina), in Governor Roger Wood's mid-1630s accounting of enslaved Africans in his household. Katalena and Sander's daughter would have been in her mid-twenties in 1660, an average time of marriage among the English both in England and in some of the colonies in the mid-seventeenth century.[35] When John Davis petitioned Bermuda's governor and council, "propounding . . . his intention & desire of Marying Penelope Strange," he was permitted to do so "Alwaies provided that the Companies proprietie in the children begotten uppon her bodie by him shalbe proportionablie referred to their behofe, if shee shall live to have any." Davis was given the option of providing the Company with "a Negro child" to serve in the place of any children the couple might have.[36] Joanna was thus the legitimate child of a marriage approved by the colony's proprietary government. As such, her religious education required some attention, even though she was to remain in servitude until she reached the age of twenty-one. Her indenture also indicates the fissures in the boundary between enslaved and free; by the 1660s, the principle of racially based chattel slavery was well established in Bermuda but not always applied.

The records of the late 1640s and early 1650s contain the only two extant Bermudian cases in which the children to be educated "in the fear of God" were labeled as "negro." Henry Tucker, who was sheriff of Bermuda at the time, specified that "a Negro child called Ellicke" and "a little Negro girl called Bridgett" were to serve their English masters in return for being "nursed and trained up in a Christian way" and "brought up . . . in the fear of God."[37] In Tucker's case, the "fear of God" was more than a formula. He also noted that Ellick and another boy, "Thomas, a mulatto," were to learn to read at a level sufficient for "knowledge" and "understanding of the Bible." The terms of service for Bridgett and another girl, "Susan, a mulatto child," did not require the English men who were to benefit from the girls' labor to teach them how to read.[38]

Ellick was "the son of old Sander a Negro" and possibly the brother of Penelope Strange. Sander had likely taken, or been assigned, his name from the English Sanders family, who were among first settlers in Bermuda. Around 1634, Sander and his wife, Katalena, had three children, Maria, Penelope, and John. The parents unsuccessfully tried to escape in 1640, for which they received thirty-nine lashes.[39] In 1661, Ellick was owned by Samuel Sherlock and lived with Samuel's father, Edward Sherlock.[40] Ellick married Susanna Powell, "the Mulatto of Thomas Wells." The marriage

entered the documentary record because Edward Sherlock and Thomas Wells recorded their agreement over the distribution of any children the enslaved couple might have. As the one who claimed Ellick, Samuel Sherlock was to get every second child after paying 100 pounds of "good Tobacco" and paying for the child's expenses, "that is to saie, the charge of midwife and clothing" until the infant was a year and a day old.[41] Thomas Wells had had Susanna Powell baptized in 1639; the register recorded no parents' names, merely the notation "Negro living with Thos. Wells."[42]

The indentures surveyed requiring Christian instruction suggest the still mutable status of Bermudian children with one parent of African descent and one parent of English descent in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Some enslaved interracial people in Bermuda asserted a Christian identity and made claims about how that identity should affect their unfree status. In 1658, a young mulatto woman named Doll Allen petitioned for the freedom to seek her own indenture "since it hath pleased God to sett a distinction betweene her and heathen Negros by providence [in] [a]lotting her birth among Christians, and making her free of the Ordinances [of C]hrist." She requested the Somers Islands Company to "restore her that freedome which is due to [her] fathers Right." The committee sitting at the General Court of Trials denied her petition because her father, William Allen, had previously submitted a request for ten years' service from her in compensation for costs incurred in raising her, indicating that he considered her a servant and not a daughter. Her assertion that he had raised her for fifteen years "out of his tender Care and fatherlie affection" was to no avail. Even without William's request for compensation, it is unlikely that Doll would have won her case because the principle of the child's freedom status being based on the mother's was already well established in Bermuda. A close examination of Doll's language suggests that she was not merely making an instrumental use of Christianity, but was claiming legal rights based on her father and on his actions toward her, which had resulted in her growing up as a Christian.

At least in this petition, Doll Allen described an identity based on having been born among Christians; her legal claim to freedom to put herself in service, however, is based on her "fathers Right."[43] Her petition pointed out that her membership in a Christian community and her enjoyment of "the priviledge of Christian people" from birth until the age of fifteen was corroborating evidence that she had never been a "perpetuall slave." God had made her free by the "Ordinances of Christ," that is, through religious practices in general and not only through baptism. Her legal position of subordination as a daughter to her father

was an attempt to gain greater freedom as a person of African descent, demonstrating once again the interconnected hierarchies of race and gender, and the ways individuals tried to use those hierarchies to their own advantage. When Doll Allen distinguished herself from "heathen" negroes by her upbringing in a Christian household, she exaggerated the lack of Christianity among Bermudians of color to bolster her case for choice in who would have control over her body and her labor. Doll Allen used her familiarity with and practice of Christianity as a justification for being able to choose for whom she would work.

Perhaps Doll did not know about her father's previous petition requesting that the Company award him ten years of her labor. If she did, being "taken from her father and reputed a perpetuall slave" might not have come as such a shock. The hints of indignation at the abrupt turn her life story took managed to seep out from around her rehearsal of her thwarted expectations. Raised "from her Cradle unto fifteene yeares of age," all that time living with "the priviledge of Christian people" as William Allen's daughter, she attended church and may have experienced the intense rush of being "free of the Ordinances o[f C]hrist." Perhaps sermons had touched on the need to convert "heathen Negroes," not so much in Bermuda (she may have been thinking across racialized categories when she referred to "birth among Christians," since the proportion of the enslaved who were island born was nearly tipping over into a majority) but elsewhere, reinforcing her sense that God had acted positively and providentially to "sett a distinction" between her and others with whom she shared a racial label. Flourishing under his "tender Care and fatherlie affection," she began to orient herself toward womanhood and to begin the process of preparing herself for eventual marriage. And that is where her expectations may have been especially unrealistic: even if William had recognized Doll as his daughter and even if her mother had been English, he would still have had the legal right to direct her labor. The documentary record does not note her reaction to the knowledge that her father considered feeding her and clothing her a business expense, one for which he now wanted compensation. It could not have been a pleasant realization, whenever it arrived.

"Hannah Manena, bapt. 1660"

As Doll Allen's case suggests, Bermudians of color would have had many motivations for participating at least to some extent in Christianity. Being a member of the faith might offer greater access to material

goods and the goodwill of white Bermudians, a factor difficult to pin down but of central importance in the intimate slave regime that existed on Bermuda. Even when enslaved people had their own dwellings, most often referred to in probate record as "cabbins," their daily routines brought them into close contact with those who claimed control over their lives and their bodies. The geographic realities of Bermuda made escape extremely difficult and maroon communities impossible, while its demographic structure rooted individuals on the island.

Knowledge of European culture—and even more than that, being brought up in a culture with European elements—made a wider range of options for negotiation available to enslaved Bermudians of color. Having more island-born compatriots also meant fewer enslaved Bermudians would have seen practicing Christianity as giving in to the master, especially since a sizeable number of the first enslaved Africans in Bermuda arrived already having had contact with Christianity. Linda Heywood and John Thornton have estimated that over 90 percent of Africans enslaved and taken from Africa in the early seventeenth century were from West Central Africa, especially areas under the control of Kongo, whose monarchy converted to Catholicism in 1491. Most of the Africans brought to Bermuda in the colony's early years thus not only had exposure to Christianity, but had exerted their own influence on the Christianity practiced by the Portuguese living in Africa. For them, Christianity was not necessarily something imposed by a foreign power but a religious practice they had made their own.[44] Even with that incorporation, many of them were still sensitive to the power of the other-than-humans who surrounded them and continued to perform necessary rituals to interact with them.[45]

In Bermuda, where firsthand knowledge of African religions was at least one generation removed for the great majority of enslaved Africans, and where indigenous people from the Caribbean also brought their religious practices, some kind of blending of Christian and non-Christian African practices is the most plausible. Mid- to late seventeenth-century Bermuda was more similar to the late eighteenth- or nineteenth-century southeastern mainland and sugar islands, once African-born individuals were no longer the majority, than it was to those locations in the same time period. Africans' majority in the United States South generally made it easier for them to maintain specific cultural practices from different areas in Africa, enabling scholars to identify fairly precise origin points for those practices. Even using historian Michael Gomez's test of close contact with Africa as being African-born or raised by someone

who was African-born, the experience of enslaved people on Bermuda was unusual in the Atlantic world in the early and consistent majority of island-born individuals.[46]

Many masters were strongly opposed to converting slaves to Christianity, but this opposition does not seem to have been as strong in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Bermuda as it was in other English colonies. The fragments of extant church records contain dozens of baptisms of Bermudians of color. For many of these individuals, that one ritual moment, caught and pinned down, may be all that has been preserved in the documentary record of the range of their religious experiences. For a few, it is possible to piece together a few different references to sketch in something more about the resonances of their religious practices and the communities in which they moved. In 1660, Hannah Manena, the infant daughter of a woman named Priscilla, was baptized. The record included the notation "Negro" by Hannah's name.[47] We do not know if Priscilla sought or instead merely acquiesced to Hannah's baptism, but following the traces of Priscilla's familial links suggests some of the meaning the ritual might have had for her. Priscilla and her sisters, Susannah and Gwendolin, were born to "Manono whose wife is Lucretia," a couple who may well have experienced the trauma of saltwater slavery, the long journey from a natal homeland to a port town in West Central Africa, through the holding pens of the slave factories, the ocean voyage, landing in the Caribbean, and another shorter ocean voyage that brought them to the tiny Atlantic island.[48]

By the mid-1660s, Priscilla was in her mid-thirties and had had three children with her master, Lieutenant John Elwick. Hannah was the eldest. When the church record listed the infant's last name as "Manena," it preserved a form of her maternal grandfather's name. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, families in Kongo and Angola often bestowed a father's or paternal grandfather's Kikongo or Kimbundu name as a child's second given name to indicate descent.[49] Priscilla's choice of Manena for her daughter thus probably reflects an adaptation of a West Central African naming pattern under the exigencies of slavery, in which her English master could coerce sexual contact while also denying legal recognition to his progeny. If, on the other hand, her family links were to the Bight of Benin, the choice of name might reflect the belief that every infant was a replacement for someone else in the family.[50] As much as this name signaled Priscilla's assertion of kinship ties and the existence of generational connections in Bermuda, it has survived in the paper record only because the minister or clerk who kept the church register

permitted the notation of a surname for the baptized infant. For every connection that was thus memorialized in the European archive, there were many more that were not.

We do not know whether Priscilla had been baptized. Perhaps her mother, Lucretia, had acquired her own saint's name as part of a Catholic baptism, although some individuals who had avoided baptism nevertheless adopted Portuguese names.[51] Lucretia may have told Priscilla about eating salt in Kongo, an action that was at once part of the baptismal ritual administered by Catholic missionaries and a means in West Central African religions to ward off other-than-human persons with evil intent. In the mid-seventeenth century, the Capuchin missionary Antonio Cavazzi complained that missionaries "believed that it was less improper to accommodate themselves to [the Africans'] lack of refinement, and instead of baptism" to call the ritual "*Curia Mungua,*" or "to eat salt." Rather than any lack of refinement, West Central Africans' connection of the potent substance to baptism indicated their perception of the powerful nature of the Christian ritual.[52] The young Priscilla might also have learned the knowledge of other ways to communicate with other-than-human persons, the proper ways to feed and attend to them so that they would not cause harm. Like many West Central Africans who encountered the Portuguese and their religious teachings, she may have regarded baptism and Christianity as another layer of spiritual practice, additional techniques to counter or at least ameliorate the malevolent forces that had resulted in her enslavement.[53] Part of a cohort of island-born people of color, Priscilla would have had companions in her familiarity with the puritan rituals prevalent among the colonists.

The white leaders of the churches in Bermuda saw their communities as including Bermudians of color, albeit in a carefully bounded way. The architecture of the churches included a space for people of color set apart from the rest of the congregation. At least by the beginning of the eighteenth century, most churches in Bermuda had a segregated area for Africans and Indians. The original church building at St. George's was destroyed in a 1712 hurricane and the rebuilt church had a more complex construction, so the exact architecture of the seventeenth-century building must remain unknown. Beginning in 1702, there was a separate slave burial ground, although many enslaved people were buried on their masters' land alongside family members. A later eighteenth-century incarnation of the meetinghouse had a gallery used exclusively for people of color—who by that point were all enslaved—but it is unlikely that the original building had a separate gallery. Contemporary plans for

rebuilding the Southampton church modeled on the Harris' Bay church around the same time suggest that if there were a gallery, it was not used for people of color but for English boys. The committee reporting on the Harris' Bay church noted, "At the west end is a place for the Negros with a barricade before it that no person can pass to them with a small door to let them in and out by themselves." The directional phrasing conveyed the sense that the committee was more worried about whites passing into the segregated area than they were about people of color coming out. Their concern was perhaps over illegal and irreligious trading that might take place. The building planned for the new Devonshire church in 1716 also contained a "gallery at the west end and a conveniency under it for Negros as in Smiths Tribe church." "For Negros" was interlined above in the same hand.[54] Almost forgotten, it was still necessary to specify the intent behind the "conveniency" in 1716, suggesting that the segregation of Bermudians of color was not entirely automatic.

The apparent prevalence of familiarity with Christianity did not mean that Bermudians of color abandoned all the ways of interacting with other-than-humans that their ancestors had brought to the island. They continued to perform these multiple interactions even as their links with West and West Central Africa and the Caribbean crossed more generations. Some of the practices may have provided a threshold across boundaries of time and space to allow closer connection with forces rooted in another place, such as the masked processions that Bermudians of color often participated in around Christian holidays. One such performance in a later period was described by a white observer as "the idolatrous procession, the Gumba." The maskers were men, although some of the costumed figures might have been female. The masked dancers were accompanied by a drum known as a gombay, a term which may have come from the Bantu word *ngoma* (drum, dance, or procession). Although masks were more significant in West African religious practices than in West Central Africa, musical instruments like the gombay could become power objects or *minkisi* through the spiritual forces they conducted. In beliefs common to much of West and West Central Africa, human bodies were themselves masks for the true inner self, so the power of a masked procession lay in its concealment of the vital unseen persons.[55] These spiritual performances may have traveled with the minority of Bermudians of color who were more recent forced migrants to the colony, but whether of more recent import or dating from the first decades of Africans in Bermuda, the pathway and movements of masked, partially secret figures delineated another layer of place in the island's sacred geography.[56]

"Delivered upp unto him on demand"

Simultaneously with these processions, some of the Bermudian children classified as mulatto and raised as indentured servants laid claim to a Christian identity and used it to form the bonds of a tightly knit community. The family story of Anthony and Hannah Manena McKenney demonstrates the possibilities and limits of Bermudian life for people of color. Anthony McKenney was able to buy his wife's freedom when his term of indenture was done, but a 1676 law exiling free people of color unless they accepted reenslavement, although irregularly enforced, meant that remaining in their natal home would risk the freedom so recently won, and so the couple relocated to the Bahamas. They had to leave their kin—Hannah's mother, Priscilla, as well as her aunts Susannah and Gwendolin and her niece Ruth, remained in Bermuda—but the couple was able to make a new, if constrained, place for themselves in the free community of color in New Providence in the Bahamas.

Anthony's father, John, "a Scoch man" and a sawyer, had arrived in Bermuda some time in the 1650s, moved to Barbados for a while, then returned to Bermuda, where he was buried in 1683. Most records describe Anthony as "mulatto." The name of his mother has not survived; neither has the year of his birth, although it is probable that he was born around 1659. Over twenty-two years, he was indentured to four people, each of whom in turn either sold his indenture or hired him out.[57] Hannah and Anthony would have met as they went about their work in St. George's, and they were married sometime before 1679, when they appeared on charges of incontinency, or fornication before marriage. By 1687, when Anthony's indenture was over and he bought Hannah's freedom, they had had at least one more child besides the one whose arrival too soon after marriage had gotten them called into court.[58] Sometime after Hannah became a free woman and before 1694, the McKenneys moved from their birthplace to New Providence in the Bahamas. Anthony returned to Bermuda at least once to collect his children, a migration pattern that was fairly common in the late seventeenth century. Depositions regarding John Elwick's 1694 nuncupative will specified that Anthony's children "(which lived with the testator)" be "delivered upp unto him on demand." These children had been born before Anthony bought Hannah's freedom, and so were enslaved. Had Ellick not specified that Anthony was to have them on demand, Ellick's heirs might have tried to make Anthony buy his children's freedom.[59]

Their life in the Bahamas would have been far from easy. In 1670, the total population of New Providence was almost 1,100, but in 1706 there were perhaps fewer than half that number. Frequent pirate, Spanish, and French attacks devastated New Providence in 1684, 1703, 1705, 1708, and 1710. If Hannah and Anthony moved soon after he was able to purchase her freedom, then they would have been part of the rebuilding of the settlement that began in 1687 under Thomas Bridges, who would later serve as a puritan minister in Bermuda and Boston. Although the exposure to pirate attacks would not have been familiar to the McKenneys, much of the rest of New Providence would have reminded them of home since many of its settlers were Bermudians who attempted to replicate their maritime society. In contrast to Bermuda, however, there was a fledgling free community of color that matured as the settlement recovered from the attacks during the first decade and the lawlessness that followed in the second decade of the eighteenth century. By 1734, the free population of color (enumerated at seventy-seven individuals) comprised 10 percent of the free population; enslaved people made up a little over a third of the population. Sixty-six of the free people of color lived in only sixteen households, and ten of those households shared only five names, McKenney among them.[60]

Although New Providence offered an opportunity to live together as a free family, the Bahamas was no haven for people of color, enslaved or free. The precise legal framework for the early years of established government in the Bahamas is not known because of the twelve acts passed by the first legislative assembly in 1729, the text survives only from the ones that were still in force in 1803 at the first general publication of Bahamian statutory law. But comments on the "Act for the better regulating and governing Negroes and other Slaves" by the English solicitor general illustrate that the act established and confirmed a racial system of slavery. Restrictions on free people of color tightened as indicated by the creation of the document that serves as one of the key sources on the free community of color: the 1734 census, which listed free people of color separately and no longer counted their heads of household as "fit to bear arms." At least twelve members of the community were arrested, jailed for twenty-four hours, and threatened with thirty-nine lashes if they refused to comply with the order to provide all the information requested in the census. The governor, made nervous by a threatened slave revolt two weeks previously, defined these freemen as a threat based on the color of their skin when he warned of the "dangerous Consequence to the Welfare and Safety of these Islands to suffer People of their

Collor, either to disobey or neglect immediately complying with any Order from the Governor or this Board."[61]

Based on this contested 1734 census, as well as on Bahamian land assignments, assessments, wills, and naming practices, the McKenney family was part of a vibrant interracial community that baptized their children, owned property, had slaves (although many of those who left wills manumitted their slaves), and gave bequests to many "cousins," a loose term applied to a range of kinship relations.[62] Between 1719 and 1722, an Anthony McKenney was among the 145 individuals listed as having been assigned land in New Providence.[63] In 1723, both he and a David McKenney were assessed 4 shillings for the maintenance of the minister; both this Anthony and David could have been two of the Bermudian Anthony's elder children, born before 1694, although it is within the realm of the possible that these records referred to an elderly Anthony. An Anthony McKenney was buried in 1728, again possibly the father. Three other McKenneys of the second generation—John, Martin, and Hannah—appear in Bahamian records, all labeled as "free mulatto." John and Hannah were both common names, but given the racial label assigned these individuals and the practice of naming children after parents and grandparents, it is probable that John, Martin, and Hannah were the descendants of the Bermudian Anthony Hannah McKenney. The McKenneys were closely connected to branches of the Sims family. Benjamin Sims left clothing and arms to "cousin" John McKenney and 50 pieces-of-eight to "cousin" Hannah McKenney, while Ann Sims gave the latter a rug and a large pewter basin and dish. Aaron Sims, a "free mulatto" man married to a "white" woman, left his house and land to his "niece Mildred McMillan, the daughter of John [and] Hannah McKinney" in the event that his own son Joseph had no issue. This genealogical detail is relevant because a Mildred Sims appears in the list of land grantees from 1719 to 1722.[64] Mildred was not a common name; that John and Hannah (who had the same name as her sister-in-law) named an elder daughter Mildred indicates a kinship tie of some kind, fictive or otherwise. That Aaron named Mildred as his second heir demonstrates that the tie was mutual.

This account of the McKenney family reminds us once again that the calcification of racial categories into sharp racial divides was an irregular process, both temporally and geographically. After Anthony and Hannah McKenney relocated to the Bahamas, the couple apparently had the children baptized. The evidence for their children's baptism is strongly suggestive, and would have been typical of two parents who were themselves baptized. In 1740, John McKenney, one of Anthony's sons, had three daughters; the baptismal record for two of them exists. If John had

not been or was not willing to become baptized, it is unlikely that a minister would have performed the ritual for his children. We do not know whether John was baptized as a young child in one of the short periods in which a minister was present in New Providence or whether he did not undergo that ritual until he was an adult.[65] Regardless of when John was baptized, it is likely that his parents had instructed him in at least one of the religious traditions in which they were raised and communicated the importance of baptism—not as a means of gaining freedom from physical slavery, since for them it clearly had done nothing of the sort and for their children it was not as pressing a question—but as the way to effect and mark membership in the body of Christ. If other families in New Providence shared similar histories, then a connection as Christians may have been one element structuring the free community of color in the Bahamas.

In the ideal, phrases about religious instruction in indentures were meant to be the prelude to a history of actions that included indentured servants in the religious life of the household. Their inclusion was as subordinates, but at the very least, there was uncertainty over whom to include within the body of Christ. This ambiguity over community boundaries gave individuals opportunities to become part of the body of Christ, since that body was supposed to be a new construction and a new way to order society that would permit the fulfillment of God's plan for the world. For some children of color and their families in Bermuda, their enactment of Christian membership delineated the restrictions on their movement in Bermudian society. In New England, the situation was different because mass indentures of Native children in southern New England came out of the turmoil following King Philip's War. Masters were more focused on subduing any potential danger that might lurk in the form of the servants in their households than they were on religious instruction for the children who most English had decided belonged to a people too dangerous to become Christian. There the idea of Indians as hereditary heathens seemed to take hold by the early eighteenth century, as it had among the colonists in Virginia a few decades earlier. Africans in New England were in a more equivocal situation, often recognizably not Christian (to English puritan perceptions), but not as linked to the violence of King Philip's War or the wars that followed.

There was less doubt over the status of people of color regarding entry into the body politic. Puritans were certain about excluding "others" of many kinds. Those "others" included the Irish and the Quakers, who also upset English puritan notions of the ordered godly

society and ruffled the puritan mapping of the body of Christ by their performance of community and their own, alternate forms of membership. These were not the differences that lay on the page of written-out dogma, but rather were performances of community that asserted multiple versions of the body of Christ, with definitions of faithful bodies that layered and overlapped, creating an irregular texture of living together in colonial space.

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Part III

Disciplining

In 1652, Thomas Higginbottom, an English man, and "Sarah the malato," both "servants to Capt Turner of Sandies Tribe," were convicted of fornication in Bermuda. Higginbottom petitioned the governor and council to spare him the "shamefull punishment of the post." Having "served [his] countrey with faithfullness" as a soldier, he was "altogether ashamed" that he had "transgressed the law of god & man" in "giving way . . . to lusts" and "committing that hatefull sin of uncleanness."[1] If Sarah spoke in court, the clerk did not record her words. Even if she did, perhaps to plead for the court's mercy on her, just as her partner was pleading for its mercy on him, she would not have been able to point to any military service for the court to consider as it deliberated on her fate. Her service to the colony would have been quieter, less regarded, more constant, and quite probably more arduous than Thomas's time as a soldier, although their tasks as bonded labor on the small farms of mid-seventeenth-century Bermuda may have been similar.[2]

Thus far, while the lack of any comment in the record on the interracial nature of the case seems noteworthy, little else about it appears to be. Sarah's presentment in court for fornication with an English man was unusual but not exceptional in the history of African and African-descended women's interaction with English colonial law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] New England the Chesapeake and recorded similar

cases, scattered though they might have been. A gendered standard that afforded men more opportunities to avoid punishment for sex outside marriage, or required lesser punishment to begin with, was hardly remarkable.[4] In fact, Sarah's case was one of many instances in which the court attempted to regulate black women's sexuality by punishing them for fornication and bastardy. Throughout most of the seventeenth century, the island colony's courts punished Bermudian women of color for unlawful sex, including bastardy, while recognizing marriages involving people of color.[5] Moreover, the case contains an implicit acknowledgment of Sarah's Christian status. Both Thomas and Sarah were required to, and did, "make acknowledgment of their" sin in church, which meant that the justices and the congregation considered Sarah to be enough of a member of the congregation to require reintegration after her transgression.[6] But beginning in the 1690s, women of color disappeared from all unlawful sex prosecutions, and the prosecutions themselves shifted away from fornication and incontinency in favor of bastardy. Despite this change, Bermuda's statutory prohibitions of extramarital sex, unlike those of most other English colonies, continued not to differentiate by racial or religious labels until the 1723 Act against Bastardy decreed that white women convicted of interracial sex could no longer escape corporal punishment by paying a fine.[7]

That women of color like Sarah, treated like other members of the moral community in unlawful sex cases, disappeared from such cases by the turn of the eighteenth century, coupled with the racial character of the 1723 Act against Bastardy, might suggest a familiar pattern: as slavery became an even more degraded form of coerced labor and racial categories hardened in this period, women like Sarah went from being seen as fellow Christians to being considered merely as property. But that is not exactly what happened. The status of enslaved women did decline from the late seventeenth through the early eighteenth century, and women of color became even more vulnerable to sexual abuse by white men. White Bermudians, however, seemed no more concerned about interracial sex in the later period than they did in the earlier one. Neither case law nor the 1723 Act included any language describing interracial sex as more of a defilement than other kinds of unlawful sex. The disappearance of women of color from unlawful sex cases seems to have more to do with changing relations of church and state than with an overall decline of religion or a turn against the notion that people of color could be Christians and part of the same moral community. Further, the 1723 Act was aimed more at policing white women than at people of color of either

sex. The developments of slavery and of a mixed-race society in Bermuda have much in common with those developments elsewhere. Yet the uncommon ways that religion, law, race, commerce, and sex overlapped in Bermuda reveal more than just the peculiar circumstances of this one small island. Concerns over restraining women's sexuality, especially in the case of women of color, formed the crux of the gendered nature of the power that men wielded over women and over other men. And the regulation of unlawful sex deployed constructions of bodies in a way that demonstrates the fundamentally intertwined nature of religion and race in the definition of human difference. The seemingly narrow aperture of unlawful sex cases can open a wide angle of vision on the ebb and flow of local and Atlantic influences in the making of Atlantic slavery.

The third section of this book takes up three aspects of legal performance around race and religion. Chapter 9 analyzes how concepts of and language about sinfulness and uncleanness in English and European references to interracial sex were based in religious attitudes about all sex outside marriage, not interracial sex in particular, while the complex meaning of "mixt" linked to beliefs about the possibilities for the incorporation of outsiders into the body politic. Thomas and Sarah's appearance in Bermuda's courts, and the 544 other extant unlawful sex cases prosecuted between 1650 and 1723, when racial distinctions first appeared in Bermudian statutory law regulating sex, reveal the legal shift in the status of women of color, the focus of Chapter 10. The final chapter traces the irregular appearance of race and specific religious affiliation in English colonial laws regulating sex; Bermuda and Massachusetts provide lesser-known and later examples than Virginia's more familiar 1662 and 1691 statutes.

These patterns of unlawful sex regulation are made not of mere featureless data points but of the stories of the women and men brought into court, the men who called them there, and witnesses and community members who affected, supported or thwarted decisions, as well as the organizing influences of colony statutes and company or imperial directives and the impingement of events outside the immediate locale. It is not in our power to re-create their histories entirely from their perspectives, but it is still worth the effort to peel back the layers, redefining the expanse of the archive to broaden what we may learn of people's stories and lives.

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9 / "Abominable mixture and spurious issue"

In 1691, Virginia passed a law that has become a benchmark in the history of race, sex, and law. Aimed at preventing the "abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may encrease in this dominion, as well by negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English, or other white woman, as by their unlawfull accompanying with one another," it decreed exile for "whatsoever English or other white man or woman being free shall intermarry with a negro, mulatto, or Indian man or woman bond or free." Another act from the same session mandated a prohibitive £15 sterling fine for "any English woman being free" who had "a bastard child by any negro or mulatto"; if she were indentured, then her term would be extended by five years. By making interracial marriage extremely unattractive, the first law basically ensured that any children born to an interracial couple would be illegitimate, which was only a concern for legislators in the case of a white mother. They wanted to retain control over children of color whose mothers were white and therefore would not pass on an enslaved status, a lack of inheritance that would blur what legislators wanted to keep as a sharp color line between free and enslaved.[1] However, while Virginia's law was indeed significant and many English colonies borrowed or mirrored Virginia's language, Bermuda's situation cannot be extrapolated from the language in Virginia's act.[2] In addition, scholars have attributed a more immediately categorical racialist attitude to "abominable mixture" than is fully warranted.

Sinful "abomination" and "uncleanness"

Thomas Higginbottom's 1652 description of his intimate relations with Sarah, a woman of color, as an "uncleanness" initially seems to fit in with the oft-cited case of Hugh Davis, whom a 1630 Virginia court sentenced to whipping "for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and shame of Christians, by defiling his body in lying with a negro." Scholars from Winthrop Jordan forward have explicated the many ways Europeans felt themselves to be superior to Africans and indigenous peoples of the Americas and their resulting "repugnance for intermixture."[3] Jordan's assertion that legislators' use of "abominable" and its variations produced laws against interracial sex "dripping with distaste and indignation" has strongly influenced the historiography of race in English thought.[4] But the word had roots in a religiously ordered world in which the English defined many actions as "abominable" sins. Fornication, broadly defined as sex outside of marriage, was frequently an "abominable sin" or "abominable lust" no matter who the participants were, and all fornication was an "uncleanness."[5] In Thomas and Sarah's case, it was not primarily the white man's choice of partner that constituted the "uncleanness" but the mere act of sex outside marriage.

Over the seventeenth century, the burden of that rhetorical uncleanness came to fall more centrally on women as the prime vessels of filth, sexual and otherwise. At the end of the seventeenth century, Cotton Mather connected sexual uncleanness among young people to the death of young men, a weakness that was the Christian God's invitation to Indians and the French to invade, as well as to bodily sickness. He imagined that "He is every day saying over them, *Indians, Do you come; Frenchmen do you come; Fevers, do you come; & cut off as many of those young People, as come in your way.*" In that conflation of physical, spiritual, and imperial attacks, a woman's lack of sexual restraint was anything but a mere personal matter.[6]

This shift grew in part out of changing understandings of cleanliness, both of the physical and social body. Rather than bathing, the English came to believe that it was healthiest to change linen garments and bedsheets which absorbed the sweat, dirt, and other excretions of the body. This practice produced mounds of laundry that could only be cleaned by heavy manual labor involving harsh substances and long hours over a boiling vat, labor that became associated exclusively with women. As the English came into daily contact with Natives and Africans, they observed sometimes different standards of body care that highlighted bodily

efflusions that the English believed were best kept to the individual and hidden away, as in the practices of menstrual seclusion common to many Native and African cultures or in the exposure of children's genitalia. For their part, Natives prized European cloth garments such as coats as well as linen shirts and shifts, but they wore them without changing or washing them. This application of a practice the English used only with outer garments to those worn next to the skin seemed to give visceral and sensual reality to English fears of bodily and spiritual corruption that might result from close contact with Natives.[7] Indians wearing visibly dirty linen sent important nonverbal messages about their state of uncleanness. In puritan perceptions, if the body was unclean, the spirit could not be far behind.

The English used "abomination" to refer to a range of sins, not only interracial intimacy. It frequently appeared in reference to what each author believed to be foundational spiritual errors. For instance, Thomas Shepard's short catechism warned against holding the opinion that faith came after receiving grace. Such an error would permit someone to live "in all maner of sin, without faith . . . which is most abominable, for sin can not have dominion over a man while he is under grace." In his farewell sermon, Richard Mather cautioned the congregation of Dorchester that only Christ's grace freely given could make them "cleansed from the uncleanness that is in you & [your works], or else both you & they will be rejected of God as most abominable in his sight."[8] Authors often described their opponents' religious practices as "abominable" in some way, or urged coreligionists to avoid such behavior. Roger Williams decried Quaker imprecations against having established church ritual as "abominable Hipocritical" since, as he charged, Quakers too "set up and establish their own Traditions." An election sermon warned the newly elected General Assembly of Massachusetts to put away "abominable Idols" and hope for salvation through faith alone. The word signaled a general sense of sin. As Increase Mather put it in one of his sermons preached at a double execution, "sin is odious and abominable in the sight of God."[9]

Court records in English colonies used "abomination" and "abominable" to refer to rape and buggery, as well as blasphemous speech (comparing Christ's blood "to the blood of a bull, pig, or dog"), among other crimes.[10] One lecture sermon delivered in Massachusetts Bay in November 1677 reminded listeners that being spiritually dead in a state of nature was the "Spring of all those wicked & Abominable works done in ye world."[11] This general sense of sin connoted by "abominable" permeated

English records, whether colonial or in England. The older spelling of "abhominable," an orthography that was explained as *ab homine* and carried connotations of "inhuman,"appeared in one oft-cited example of ritual punishment in a sixteenth-century English court: in the diocese of Ely, an English woman convicted of adultery had to stand for three hours "clothed in a white sheet downe to the grounde, with a white wand in her hand, haveinge papers pinned, the one upon her breste and the other upon her backe, declaringe her abhominable offence."[12]

"Abominable" often appeared in Bermuda's court records in reference to fornication of any kind. Grand inquest juries did express the opinion that African women were lesser beings through their treatment of English men's sexual contact with African women as of greater concern than their fornication with English women, but the difference was not between an abomination and a minor infraction. In Bermuda in 1652, the English man Henry Gaunt was presented for suspicion of "being unneccesarily conversant with negro women." He was already two years into a three-year term of servitude to the colony for incontinency with an African woman and an Indian woman. The grand inquest also made note of gossip that Gaunt "hath given these women gifts." The jury declared that if Gaunt had not "left his familiarity with such creatures," then "such abominations" had to be investigated. The abomination was not simple fornication between an African man and a European woman; it was the continued contact.[13] A subtle yet noteworthy point here is that the grand inquest jury was particularly troubled that Gaunt was rumored to have given these African women gifts, implying an unacceptable level of consideration for them and possibly giving them material goods that would enable them to flout established hierarchies of adornment and to dress beyond their status as enslaved women. In the English context, giving gifts looked too much like courting rather than expressing dominance over inferior beings.[14]

And perhaps the women in question would have agreed with the court that Gaunt's importunities were abominations, although for different reasons. His general authority over them as an English colonist in a society that had already linked darker skin color to extended servitude and chattel slavery gave him license to exert a range of coercive tactics that did not have to extend to overt physical violence to narrow the already limited range of the women's choices about sexual contact with him.[15] Or they may have found and felt affection with him, and appreciated the material tokens he offered them, a choice bit of food here, a new handkerchief there.[16] For his part, Gaunt may have enjoyed the

ability to give gifts without much fear that they would be refused. And if that predisposed the women to be more accepting of his sexual advances, so much the better. Before coming to the island colony, Gaunt had probably heard tales of African women's aggressive sexuality and eagerness to bed European men, making him keen to experience that tendency for himself.[17]

The English in Bermuda saw danger and sinfulness in intra- as well as interracial acts of fornication. Destruction could come from many quarters besides interracial sex. The land could mourn for many actions of a sinful people, including working or unnecessary travel on the sabbath, drunkenness, swearing and cursing, and "whoredom" that "are or wilbe the destruction of us if not timely prevented."[18] In 1668/9, the Somers Islands Company issued an order "For suppressing of the abominable and crying sins of adultery and fornication in the Sommer Islands, wherewith the place is much defiled, and Almighty God highly displeased."[19] The language of defilement appeared only in reference to a general castigation of all adultery and fornication without any differentiation by race or religion. Moreover, unlike slave codes in other English colonies with substantial populations of enslaved people, laws governing Bermudians of color refrained from describing them as heathens or savages.[20]

The prolific writer and fringe critic Thomas Tryon used the term in *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies* (1684) to rail against those European men who forced themselves on African women and produced mulatto children whom the men then enslaved in turn. Taking on the persona of an African man, he asked, "There cannot sure be a greater Sin against Gods pure Law in Nature; . . . will not the very Beasts of the Earth rise in Judgment against such vile hard hearted Wretches; and Nature disown and spue them out as abominable?" But the sin against nature was not sexual contact between European men and African women on its own; nor were the beings who would be rejected by the very earth the children who were "neither White nor Black." The unnatural, "abominable" act was creating a child only to enslave it, and those whom Nature would disown as abominable were the white men.[21] The question of Tryon's sincerity and the implications of his speaking through the mouth of an African man aside, his use of the word *abominable* drew on the English understanding of all fornication as unnatural and sinful.[22]

In 1694, Massachusetts Bay ministers invoked similar imagery of the earth rejecting not only the perpetrators but the entire community

unless the colony passed a law "enacted against Incest & Incestuous Marriages, Conformable to ye Lawes of Nature, of scripture, & of ye English Nation." As well as being sins against the Christian God and Nature, and crimes against the "English Nation," marriages within the degrees prohibited by scripture were "Abominable Confusions; for which Defiled Lands, doe vomit out their Inhabitants." The preface of the law "to Prevent Incestuous Marriages," passed one year later, echoed the language about "Abominable Dishonesty and Confusion." The 1697 Massachusetts law against buggery stated that its purpose was "For avoiding of the detestable and abominable Sin of Buggery with Mankind or Beast, which is contrary to the very Light of nature."[23] In the seventeenth century, the English understood and used the concept of "abomination" to describe much more than interracial intimacy and the resulting children. Keeping the religious grounding of the term is necessary to a perception of the full range of its import, even for those who disobeyed such guidelines.

"Spurious and Mixt Issue"

The language of Massachusetts's 1705 law against marriage between Europeans and people of African descent, "An Act for the Better Preventing of a Spurious and Mixt Issue," revealed the continuing significance of religious community and belonging in the perception of difference. The title of the law expressed a more subtle racialist attitude than historians have often ascribed to its authors. "Spurious" was a synonym for illegitimate and did not have a specific ethnic or racial connotation. Mixed-race children were illegitimate by definition since the act itself made interethnic marriage illegal. "Mixt issue" did imply at least two incompatible substances, but not with the tinge of horror attributed in most interpretations.[24]

Further examination of Native, African, and English concepts about the incorporation of outsiders into the body politic elucidates the complex encounters inhering in the single word "mixt." Among Natives in southern New England, one method for conveying tribal affiliation was through lineage, but individuals could, did, and still do maintain status in multiple tribes.[25] In addition to biological links among what Europeans considered "extended" families, Algonquians generally prioritized relationships among persons, both human and other-than-human, as determinative of an individual's standing in a particular tribe.[26]

The divergence between the broad construction of English and Native understandings of a person's inner essence, what made them *that person*

and not another one, was most noticeable among those tribes practicing "mourning wars," in which they took captives in order to replace community members who had died. The belief that outsiders could become lost insiders, take on their skills, their quirks, their weaknesses, their status in the community meant that Natives did not think of the problem of incorporating foreign individuals in the same way as the English who thought about the mixture of diverse substances. Haudenosaunee adoptees also became specific people, not just "Haudenosaunee," through the process of physically and culturally stripping their old persona. Among the Wendat, captives lucky enough to be selected as the replacement for high-status individuals with leadership abilities were also expected to display those skills, while those replacing marginal members were bounded by the limitations of the "souls whom they socially replaced."[27] Some English captives taken in raids in the late seventeenth century through the first half of the eighteenth century, including the one on Deerfield in 1704, even found such expectations preferable to those in the life they had left behind. Girls taken from New England decided to stay with their adoptive Indian or French families at a much higher rate than did boys. For those girls who were old enough that it is unlikely that they simply forgot their former lives, the greater degree of control each culture afforded women over the products of their labor and a sense that they had more influence in their new situations may have inclined them to stay.[28]

Natives in southern New England did not have as strong an idea of a deceased person inhabiting a new body of a captive, but they did work to incorporate foreign persons into their community by changing their bodies and guiding them into the performance of duties that would not only mark them but would remake them into a member of a particular lineage and tribe.[29] So, too, did they want captives to strip themselves of their old clothes and put on new ones, a physical indication of their transfer of affiliation to their new environment. Although the English also began their attempted transformation of outsiders with ritual stripping and reclothing, they were more worried than Natives generally seemed to be about the polluting effect that a few foreign parts could have on the whole.[30] Less certain about the ability of individuals to transform themselves as the seventeenth century wore on, especially after King Philip's War, the English families of the captives who chose to stay were flabbergasted.[31]

The forced migration of Africans brought to the Americas by the factors and traders of the transatlantic slave trade created the fundamental

requirement that an enslaved individual first rebuild a community. Imperial and other dynastic struggles as well as European demand for human property greatly increased political instability far into the interior of West and West Central Africa, so that people on the coast sold to transatlantic traders had probably already been refugees or recently migrated to try to avoid what had become endemic conflicts. Of necessity, they formed new groupings and new communities onboard ships and in the Americas. Each had lost so many kin connections that the first order of priority was creating a social body stable enough even to have an inside and outside. The establishment of those communities involved practices of both permanent and temporary possession that drew on beliefs that the outer body was only a "mask" for the inner essence of a person. In West Africa, infants were thought to be new bodies for an ancestor who had come back to the living, while rituals that opened the skilled practitioner to the spirit of ancestors and other key unseen persons permitted the temporary subsuming of the individual who normally inhabited a particular physical body. The dislocations of the slave trade may have necessitated the fever pitch of the reinvention of self and community accomplished by people such as Domingos Álvares, who established healing practices in Dahomey, Recife, Rio de Janeiro, and Portugal, but the earlier definitions of the permeable body guided the forms such forced creativity took.[32]

Europeans also believed in forms of spirit possession, but for puritans such practices were evidence of the maleficent force of the devil. The horror came from the origin of the possessing entity, not primarily the concept of sharing the body. But "mixt" did imply that two identifiably different substances had combined, and in the context of bastardy laws referred to children whose mothers and fathers were not on the same side of the European divide.

Interracial Marriage and Sex

The laws defining illicit sex in English colonies outside the puritan Atlantic included racial difference earlier and to a much higher degree than in those within it. Maryland and North Carolina both echoed Virginia's description of children born to European and African or Indian parents as "abominable mixture and spurious issue" as well as "unnatural," but the text of the laws in Massachusetts and Bermuda did not employ either "abominable" or "unnatural." Nor were European-Native or European-African couples described as "shamefull matches," a lacuna matched by the absence of descriptions of those Europeans as "debased"

or "defiled."[33] Officials' use of "abominable mixture" in laws regulating unlawful sex did indicate that the mixing itself was somehow sinful, but abominable was not limited to the context of interracial sex. "Unnatural" could also describe other sins. The laws in the plantation colonies expressed more of a racial consciousness than Bermuda's, but the word "abominable" on its own was not enough to do that. It was only in conjunction with case law describing interracial sex as debasing or defiling to the European individual involved or, to a lesser extent, enacting more severe punishments that "abominable" and "unnatural" become primarily associated with racial categories. Without that case law, their significance for racial attitudes is more uncertain. Even in Virginia, two counties prosecuted the 1662 law with marked differences, suggesting that the residents of York and Accomack Counties had divergent opinions about the heavy fine for servant women convicted of interracial fornication. In York County, there were no interracial fornication cases for two decades after the passage of the law. However, in Accomack County, several women were brought before the court on charges.[34] But Bermuda's situation went far beyond York County's lax prosecution of the law on the books. Interracial marriages not only existed in Bermuda throughout the seventeenth century, they survived extended interactions with the courts.

Interracial marriages between white Bermudians and Bermudians of color, while uncommon, were a known part of colonial society and one recognized by the law. In the mid-seventeenth century, the ideology of race in Bermuda did not yet deem the official separation of whites and nonwhites to be such a paramount goal that it was preferable for an interracial couple to live together as fornicators rather than be permitted to marry.[35] In several instances, interracial marriages occurred without particular official comment and had the same legal and moral standing as marriages between whites. This history of recognition indicated that these marriages had more legal standing than a mere toleration of de facto arrangements that existed without official notice, making it unusual even within a recent call for scholars to recognize the many places where English colonists (mostly men, but some women) and Natives or Africans (mostly women, but some men) engaged in sexual contact, with a frequent enough result of children.[36] In 1661, when the court objected to the impending marriage between Thomas Johnson and Tomasina Morris, it did so not because Johnson was English and Morris was mulatto, but because it believed that Morris's first marriage to another English man was still in force. Some time before George Morris left the Bermuda

Islands for England in 1656, he and Tomasina were married.[37] In 1659, Tomasina Morris appeared in court for having an illegitimate child with Josephus, a Spaniard; she was "censured" to thirty-one lashes, while Josephus was ordered to maintain the child.[38] She was back in court in 1661, this time for committing adultery with Johnson. The court ordered the couple to cease "consorting together" in June 1661. Although the couple's banns of matrimony had already been published three times in Hamilton Tribe Church, Richard Appowen Jr. testified that he had met George Morris at Gravesend and that Morris "did latelie tell him . . . that soe soone as he could gayne menes for the maintainance of himselfe and the said Tomasin his wife, hee would assuredlie returne to her in Summer Islands."[39] Morris and Johnson appeared twice more for the same crime of adultery and were punished with thirty-nine lashes. They were finally permitted to marry in June 1662, when Appowen declined to repeat his statement under oath.[40]

At least in the glimpse of their lives created for and caught in the court record, the couple was quite determined to stay together. More than that, they apparently refused to keep their interactions secret. Two severe whippings were not enough to deter either one of them from continuing their intimacy, so it must have been a relief when Appowen would not swear to the truth of his conversation in Gravesend. Perhaps the conversation had happened as Appowen reported it, but one or both members of the couple managed to convince him that George Morris was full of promises and intentions he never fulfilled. The court also noted that by that time, George Morris had been gone more than five years and so it considered him to have abandoned his wife.[41] The records give very few clues about what happened after that; some sources suggest that Tomasina and George Morris were again living together in 1679.[42] Regardless of whether Tomasina Morris reconciled with her first husband—possibly because Johnson had died in the meantime—or whether she did not reunite with George, her story makes it clear that the court recognized interracial marriages on multiple occasions and without particular comment beyond the inclusion of racial labels. While interracial marriages were something out of the usual, they were not perceived to be a sin because of any "mixing" of people that would result.

In the early 1670s, elite Bermudians continued to believe that interracial marriage was more desirable than the sin of fornication. When Thomas Wood petitioned the governor and council in 1673/4 to marry Ann Simons, "a Mulatto woman of the Hon[orable] Company's," they permitted him to do so "to prevent their living in sin," since "the said

Thomas Wood had begotten a child on the body of the aforesaid Mulatto woman" the previous year. Wood made this petition knowing that in May 1672 the grand inquest had ordered that "whosoever" married a person enslaved by the company would themselves "and their posterity" become colony servants; he was willing to enter servitude to solemnize his relationship with Simons. However, the court did not carry out this decree in Wood's case. He appeared a handful of other times in the records, sometimes for debt litigation, but always on his own behalf and not as the colony's servant. The governor got around the rule by allowing Wood to purchase his wife from the Company.[43] This decree was not an attempt to create an effective ban on all interracial marriages without the use of explicit racial terminology. It is true that there were no longer any white company slaves (a penal enslavement for offenses including seditious talk, theft, and holding back tobacco from the annual shipment to London) as there had been in the first decades of the colony, so any person enslaved by the company would have been African or Indian, and there were very few Bermudians of color who had freedom that they might lose through marrying one of those enslaved individuals. However, the rule referred only to those slaves owned by the company, who had been a diminishing percentage of the overall enslaved population since the 1630s primarily because white planters claimed individual ownership of enslaved children born and raised in their households.[44] The governor and council did not challenge the grand inquest's order, but they found a way to endorse an interracial marriage without making a white man become a company slave. This avoidance reinforced the association between skin color and enslaved status. At the same time, the way officials worked around the rule demonstrated their continued commitment to preventing the sin of fornication regardless of the racial classification of the participants. They were fully committed to race-based slavery, but did not view that system as an absolute barrier to marriage.

The Assembly seemed to attempt to restrain interracial marriage in another case only a few years later. In June 1677, the grand inquest jury at the Bermuda Assizes reported having received "information of an English woman marryed to an Indian man, a slave to Capt John Hubbard." They ordered that "for the time to come . . . noe English person may be marryed in the Church without Lycence from the Governor or publication thereof according to law," a reiteration of the law on the books. As in Morris and Johnson's case, the problem was not that the marriage crossed racial boundaries. Rather, the legal issue at hand was whether or not the couple had established their freedom from existing

entanglements through either proper publicizing of their intent to marry or through securing permission from the governor as all couples were required to do. The court contented itself with repeating the existing law on publicizing impending marriages because it could "gather no information whether their marriage was published in the Church" or licensed by the governor. The clerk noted the man's race and unfree status as supplementary information, not as the central fact of the case.[45] This case came at a time when the government was concerned with regularizing marriages between all individuals, regardless of race or freedom status, and the jury made no move to prohibit such a marriage outright. Instead, it referred the case to the local justice to "enquire whether or when marryed and to give a report at the next Councll Table," a report that, if given, was not recorded.[46]

The rhetorical analysis of "abominable" and "mixt" may seem to be a minor matter in light of the severe punishments for unlawful sex endured most often by women and men of color and by white women. But the language of the law is necessary to a full comprehension of the role of religion in the development of racial ideology. The English may have been preconditioned to view Natives and Africans as lesser beings, but their laws regulating unlawful sex did not express an entirely articulated racial categorization in which non-Europeans were definitively subhuman. While they generally viewed Indian and African bodies as unclean, "abominable" cannot serve as the primary evidence for that view. The implications of "abominable" and its derivatives, for a seventeenth-century English Christian, encompassed the very notion of original sin and human nature.

10 / "Sensured to be whipped uppon a Lecture daie"

In December 1678, the Bermuda court accepted the word of "Black Moll servant of Mr William Hall" that "black Tom servant of Mr John Squire" was "the reputed father of a bastard childe," and both were "sensured to be whipped uppon a Lecture daie."[1] Moll and Tom's punishment came from the idea that godly order required individuals to restrict their sexual impulses to marriage. When they did not do so, the court punished the erring couple in the religious arena of a lecture day. The attempts to regulate the legitimacy of sexual relations between two people of color placed them within the boundaries of the Christian community dominated by the English. The inclusion of people of color in incontinency and bastardy cases, as well as in the public rituals of reconciliation that followed, meant that white Bermudian officials recognized marriages of Bermudians of color. More than merely being implicit as in the above prosecution, this recognition was sometimes explicit. Bermuda's court records show that individuals labeled as "mulatto" were at least partially integrated into those central institutions of English colonial life, the church and the legal system.

Puritan influences in the construction, application, and text of the law in Bermuda through the end of the seventeenth century worked to diminish differential treatment of Bermudians of color in unlawful sex cases by emphasizing the sinfulness of all sex outside marriage and the law's central role in punishing the commission of sin. More than fifteen years ago, Cornelia Dayton found that in New England's heavily puritan-influenced courts of the seventeenth century, patterns of prosecution

and conviction in unlawful sex cases fell more evenly on women and men than they did in England. In New Haven, the priority placed on the status of each person as a sinner and on regulating godly order through the law mitigated the sexual double standard of English patriarchal society in which male heads of household exerted extensive power over their wives and other women classified as dependents.[2] Analysis of the substantial cache of unlawful sex cases in Bermuda extends Dayton's findings to the island colony. These cases demonstrate that Bermudian law, similarly to its New England counterpart, exhibited a puritan ethos in which ministers were meant to keep a close eye on civil leaders and how they enforced godly behavior. The regulation of unlawful sex in the island colony routinely included women of color among those to be disciplined, an incorporation that defined those women as part of the Christian community.[3] New England courts heard hundreds of fornication cases, but only a handful of them involved Natives or Africans.

At the end of the century in both regions, attempts to centralize the administration of the English empire and changes within puritanism combined to blur the vision of godly order as a blueprint for enforcing civil authority. In Bermuda, internal events precipitated and intensified these overarching trends. The end of the proprietary Somers Islands Company in 1685 and the colony's subsequent reorientation toward maritime activities over the next few decades reorganized its economy around shipbuilding and the carrying trade. The timing was not coincidental. Indeed, the 1684 *quo warranto* suit that took aim at the legitimacy of the company's charter was the catalyst of the Crown's attempt to rein in other unruly colonies like Massachusetts, which it did when it created the Dominion of New England that stretched from Maine to New Jersey. The Crown takeover and the removal of company restrictions on shipbuilding enabled Bermudians to turn all their resources toward the sea. The growth of maritime commerce also prompted local and Crown officials to establish a more differentiated court system to replace the old assizes, creating the new offices of chief justice and attorney general. Religion continued to influence the law but in a less direct way, providing a general moral map that civil authorities and ordinary people ought to follow, but not specifying behaviors or punishments.[4]

From the 1690s, sex outside marriage was still a sin, but ministers and lay church leaders no longer expected magistrates and justices to use the law to enforce those ideals on society at large. Reverting to prevailing English legal practice, bastardy and other sexual infractions became primarily a female failing rather than one in which two partners were at

fault. However, while white Bermudian women continued to be charged with unlawful sex, Bermudian women of color disappeared from the presentments, offering a local variant on the early modern story of the calcification of understanding human difference as race, a cultural construct in which skin color came to signal a host of other inherited characteristics.[5] Enslaved women's absence from the court record indicated the intensification of their position as object and property in the eyes of English law, a framework that meant that sexual encounters between women of color and European men inherently involved coercion and violence, albeit to varying degrees.[6]

The abundant civil case law, unusual for England and England's colonies in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, allows for an understanding of the practical application of the prescriptive laws that formed the statutory framework of slavery.[7] The impulse toward quantification of these Bermudian cases both offers the promise of discerning important patterns and requires caution to avoid reducing individuals to a tick in one column or another. While the danger of losing individual experience is pertinent to all historical arguments, it is especially central to scholarship on slavery and the slave trade because the impulse to count and categorize in census efforts of various kinds was closely tied to the expansion of the Atlantic slave trade and the need for English and other Europeans to organize and control imperial projects.[8]

The story of one woman whom we already met in chapter 8 and her interactions with the court illustrates some shadows of the lives that lay behind the terse notations that survive in court records, as well as the uncertainties and speculation that must remain in attempting to tell such stories. Priscilla was the daughter of Manono and Lucretia, a couple whose forced migration to the island placed them in the earliest generations of enslaved people, and she baptized at least one of her daughters as a Christian. Two of her appearances in the documentary archive are entries in the data set of unlawful sex cases. She was whipped for incontinency (her partner was not charged) in November 1650. In December 1661, she appeared for fornication with Josias Ingle, a mariner who had been indentured to Priscilla's master, John Elwick, in the 1650s. The court sentenced each of them to thirty-nine lashes.[9]

Perhaps Priscilla preferred intimacy with Ingle over that with their master; in that case, bringing fornication charges might have been Elwick's method of punishing her for having sex with another man. During the same time period, beginning around 1658 or 1659, Priscilla also had sexual contact with her master: by March 1664/5, she had had three

children with Elwick. Hannah was six years old and Rebecca was three years old; a child unnamed in the record had died at the age of four. There is much about Priscilla's life and sexuality that must remain unknown. Her 1650 appearance was for incontinency, which implies that she and her unnamed partner were married by the time her pregnancy was noted by others, but there is no hint of what happened to him nor of how she viewed their relationship. She may not have wanted either Ingle's or Elwick's attention, or she may have seen sexual activity with them as the option that seemed best within her constrained array of choices. The last time the letters of Priscilla's name were traced by a clerk was to note that sometime before March 1664/5, she had married "one Powle, a Negro servant of Elwicke."[10]

How the enslaved couple negotiated their interactions with Elwick must have required careful attention. The documentary record is not clear about the level of coercion Elwick employed in his sexual liasons with Priscilla. As her master, he had to approve her marriage to Powle. Was that compensation for Hannah and Rebecca, whose bodies added value to his estate in their potential sale value as well as the labor they would one day perform for him? A kind of parting gift once his attentions shifted elsewhere, to a younger woman? Perhaps it was a deal Priscilla worked out ahead of time. She would permit him to have sex with her, would birth any resulting children, and then he would allow her to choose a partner. Or she may have reached an accommodation with her situation until Powle was sold onto the island. Maybe Powle was the one who pushed for the solemnization of the relationship that developed between them, wanting their master to acknowledge that he too had claim to Priscilla.

Studying the patterns of unlawful sex cases cannot answer the questions about Priscilla's and Powle's perspectives on their experiences, or Elwick's for that matter, but they can sketch out how many other Bermudians might have been in a similar situation. Numbers in columns and categories can never represent the totality of someone's existence, but they can form patterns that reveal how groups of people related to each other and provide broader societal context for glimpses of stories like Priscilla's.

Religion and the Performance of the Law

When Thomas Higginbottom described his awareness of the shame he "incurred upon my selfe" by "committing that hatefull sin" of fornication

with Sarah, his 1652 petition closely echoed the prescribed language of standard acknowledgments of incontinency or premarital sex in Bermuda. Individuals and couples had to declaim in church a statement that invoked shame and referred to the "horrable sinne of fornication" they had committed that broke "the lawe of God and our Kinge." Moreover, they declared that they had acted "to the shame of our profession and the Protestant Religion." Sex outside marriage thus not only shamed the community of professing Christians, but it also demeaned a specific kind of Christianity.[11]

Thomas Higginbottom's reference to breaking the "law of god & man" indicates that there were overlapping jurisdictions in unlawful sex cases. Those presented in court had broken godly and earthly rules, and prosecution of those cases proceeded on both fronts. When the court ordered offenders to perform penance in church, civil authorities punished deviance from a religiously based ideal. The humiliating experience of public penance reintegrated sinners, regardless of race, into the community of the faithful. In the case that opened part 3, both the white man and the woman of color had to perform penance. Couples who submitted themselves to the ritual knelt in the aisle during the service, read a statement that named the sin and apologized for the harm done to the community, and sometimes stood before the gathered congregation with a description of the punished action on a piece of paper pinned to an outer garment.[12] White Bermudian couples who had to perform this ritual in 1662 and 1664 had to make their acknowledgments in their respective churches "immediatly after the Ministers morning exercise is ended."[13] Until 1690, Bermudian couples who had sex before marriage had to make acknowledgment in their church, as well as to pay a fine or to receive corporal punishment. After 1690, the law allowed those who could afford to pay the fine to escape making acknowledgment. Fines responded to the pressing concerns of this world and also marked the development of a sharply differentiated system of moral enforcement in which those with abundant financial means could avoid public shaming.

Penance revealed the continuing significance of marriage in the church community. "He She or they" who were incontinent before marriage and failed to pay the twenty-shilling fine within three months had to reconcile themselves to the church through penance. The relevant clause specified that "The said Offendor shall Do Pennance in the Church of the Tribe or parish wherein the offence shall be Comitted in the publique Congregation of the same, making Acknowledgment of the offence as in such Cases hath been used & accustomed in these Islands."[14] The Assembly attempted

to strengthen the acceptance of the act, as well as the likelihood that the justices and church wardens would prosecute incontinency, by referring to the common and accepted practice current in Bermuda. This language of "used & accustomed" also indicates that sentencing incontinent couples or individuals to perform penance and acknowledgment in their church was a common outcome in such cases even when the court record did not make note of it. Governor Benjamin Bennett also appealed to that common practice when he expressed his concern that the law would no longer have all "equally to suffer alike" and that the requirement to do penance only if one could not pay the fine would "encourage Vice" through "tollerating it by seting a price on Sin."[15] The reference to local usage confirms the variability of colonial practice and the Assembly's recourse to local context. Although similar penance occurred in England, the Bermuda law did not refer to English common law or practices. Despite the governor's discomfort, fines repaid a less tangible debt in addition to responding to the pressing concerns of this world.

While only the Christian God's grace could truly expiate a wayward member's sin, the experience of public punishment or shaming repaired the damage to the community. White couples continued to appear in court through 1713 on incontinency charges, and some of them received a whipping.[16] Whipping carried religious meaning as a ritual intended to punish sinners and reincorporate them into the community. The punishment was meant to mark the body of the offender and to unify the onlookers in their perception of the act as a shameful sin. The variation in the place and method of inflicting whippings reveals an awareness on the part of the magistrates that performing these ritual actions conveyed meaning. They sometimes were performed at different places along the physical borders of a community, the movement of the sinner's disciplined and violated flesh healing the boundaries of the community body. At other times, whippings took place at the public whipping post after a worship service in the cultural center of a town. In the latter case, the punishment drew all present together to that center and so reinforced the connections among them.[17]

Incontinency and the Recognition of Marriages between Bermudians of Color

Incontinency presentments integrated the couples into the English-controlled community in two ways. First, a conviction of incontinency rather than fornication signaled the officials' and general community recognition of the marriages of people of color. Prosecution of incontinency

required knowledge of the marriage's timing to determine whether a birth occurred too soon thereafter, an awareness that implies a public marriage ceremony of some kind. Second, the punishment of making acknowledgment to the congregation demonstrated the court's assumption of the offenders' need to reconcile with the body of the church. Their sin had harmed others, and they had to acknowledge that fault. If the officials had not judged them to be capable of recognizing their sin and repenting for it, there would have been no reason to sentence the couple to penance. A fine or a whipping would have expiated their sin and recompensed the community. Governor Heydon's efforts in the 1670s to enforce laws against incontinency among people of color had a two-pronged aim. He wanted to regulate the enslaved, and he wanted to get English owners to formalize (according to English practice) the marriages of those they enslaved. A "Negroe of Thomas Wells and Indian of M[illegible] both of Southampton Tribe" faced charges of incontinency in 1672. Although unnamed in the court record, the person claimed by Thomas Wells was probably James, the only adult man listed as enslaved in Wells's 1674 will. James and his partner were to receive thirty-nine lashes for their infraction, a common punishment for fornication but a severe one for incontinency inflicted only on impoverished couples. If the "masters of the aforesaid Negro and Indian" did not produce them for punishment, then the masters would be fined 40 shillings.[18] The punishment meted out by the court held the couple partially responsible, but the masters were the ones who had to produce them in court. Marriage recognition for people of color was a complex matter. They were members of the community with recognized marriages (James and his partner were punished for an offense that only married couples could commit), but they were also mere property in the eyes of the court (they were unnamed in the record, and it was their masters who were responsible if they did not show up). This case lays bare the dual nature of enslaved people's standing in Bermuda as sinners to be reconciled to the community and as property.

The layout of the text recording incontinency proceedings in June 1667 further illustrated the tenuous inclusion of people of color in the body of Christ. "John Allen a Mulatto, and his wife" and "Timothie Grasebur [Graisbury] a Mulatto, and his wife" were two of the eight couples censured to make acknowledgments "in the respective Churches uppon a Sabboth day after morning sermon" at the June 1667 Assizes. John, who had either completed his period of service or had earned enough to buy out his remaining time, was part of a specific church community. When

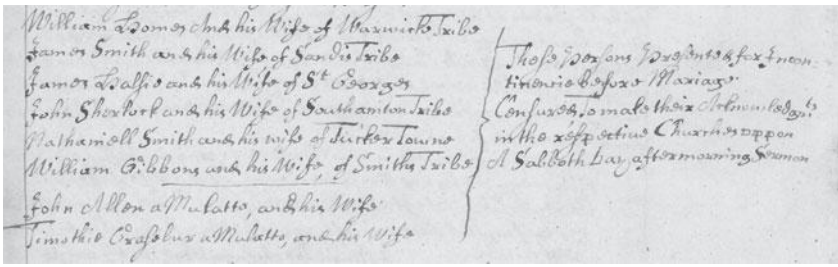
William Adams and his Wife of Warwick Tribe
James Smith and his Wife of Sandis Tribe
James Wallis and his Wife of St Georges
John Sherlock and his Wife of Southampton Tribe
Nathaniell Smith and his wife of Devonshire Towne
William Gibbons and his Wife of Smiths Tribe
John Allen a Mulatto and his Wife
Timothie Graisbur a Mulatto and his Wife
Those persons presented for incontinencie before Mariage
Censured to make their Acknowledgments in the respective Churches uppon A Sabboth Day after morning Sermon

Figure 10.1. A record of 1667 incontinency proceedings requiring couples to "make their Acknowledgments in the respective Churches uppon A Sabboth Day after morning Sermon" that included couples labeled as "mulatto" in the sentence but used a horizontal line to separate them from presumably white couples. Assizes, June 1667, Bermuda Colonial Records 5B, Part I: 48v. (Courtesy of the Bermuda Archives)

he and his wife had sex before marriage, they were punished as members of that body of Christ. However, the court record partially separated the Allens and the Graisburys from the other six couples whose names appeared without indication of race. The couples' names were written in a column along the left-hand margin; after recording the names of the six who were presumably English, the clerk drew a horizontal line before noting the Allens and the Graisburys. This separation kept their names in a distinct area. But the punishment given to all eight couples was exactly the same, a similarity visually represented by the bracket that spanned the right-hand side of all the names and verbally marked by the statement, "'These persons presented for incontinencie before mariage. Censured to make their Acknowledgments in the respective Churches uppon A Sabboth day after morning Sermon."[19] This page in the record book captured the precarious status of mulatto couples in Bermuda's churches (figure 10.1). White Bermudians accepted these mulatto couples as Christians, as additional members of the body of Christ, but they were members who were not allowed to blend seamlessly with the rest of the body. The space in which they performed their faith was kept firmly, if faintly, marked out on the page of the archive.[20]

Unlawful Sex

Bermuda's court ordered similarly severe corporal punishment in fornication cases before 1679 regardless of the race of the offender. In that

period, poor white women convicted of fornication were just as likely as were women of color to receive a corporal punishment without financial option. For instance, in 1662, "Black Jose Mr Barnes Negro man, Robert Dickesons Negroe woman & Mr Thomas Lecrafts Negro woman" received the same sentence of thirty-nine lashes as had two white women and a man a year earlier.[21] The court further specified that the whipping must take place directly after the end of the Sabbath sermon. This link between the punishment and the religious service revealed the overarching religious framework for the court proceedings, while the similar timing and ritual for whites and people of color indicated the court's view that the sin was comparable across racial categories.

The numbers of prosecutions for fornication between white men and African and Indian women through the early 1650s demonstrates the frequency of socializing among these groups and the government's efforts to curb such contact through disciplining the bodies of the offenders, regardless of race. An enslaved African woman "liveing with Mr Jonathan Turner" was punished in 1677 for having an illegitimate child. The court sentenced her to a whipping at the discretion of the justice. The father of the child was also to be whipped, although the record does not give his name. At the same assizes, Moll, Bess, Joan, and two women named Sarah were given the same but declined to name the fathers of their children and so were punished singly. However, "A Negroe man Fransico And A Negro woman of Cornelius Levans" were punished together for fornication. This couple was one of only eight punished for fornication, as opposed to incontinency, in which both the man and woman were Bermudians of color. "Meriam a Negro woman of Mrs Bullock," who bore the same name as the latter's daughter, was sentenced to a whipping for bastardy in January 1679/80.[22]

Figure 10.2 tabulates all unlawful sex cases in Bermuda between 1650 and 1723, breaking them down into three partially overlapping categories: first, cases involving only white couples or individuals; second, cases involving people of color (some of which were interracial and also involved whites); and third, only those interracial cases that involved whites. Continuing the trend of the 1660s, white couples made up a greater proportion of all couples prosecuted for unlawful sex in the 1670s than they had in the 1650s. Fifty-seven percent of all unlawful sex cases in the 1670s involved only whites, an increase from 39 percent in the 1650s.[23] People of color were involved in 34 percent of the cases in the 1660s, which declined to 29 percent in the following decade. These changes were not due to overall population shifts, which tended in the

	Total number of unlawful sex cases	Cases involving only whites	Cases involving people of color	Interracial cases involving whites
1650-59	46	39%	63%	30%
1660-69	110	53%	34%	9%
1670-79	137	57%	29%	8%
1680-89*	9	89%	11%	11%
1690-99	64	97%	1.5%	1.5%
1700-09	76	92%	6.5%	6.5%
1710-19	63	92%	8%	6%
1720-23	40	90%	10%	10%

*Almost no records survive from this period.

Figure 10.2 Unlawful sex cases in Bermuda, 1650–1723.

other direction: blacks and Indians composed about one-third of the total population in 1670, an increase from less than 15 percent in 1650.[24] Just over half of all cases in which people of color appeared in the 1660s were women of color who appeared alone; in the 1670s, that percentage increased to 66 percent. The court sometimes, but not always, punished their male partners, irrespective of race. Twenty-one white men were charged with fornication or bastardy with women of color. Men of color appeared alone only once in each decade.[25]

Some of the gender differential in the rate of presentments for illegitimacy existed because a baby's birth did not reveal the father's identity. However, the court's decisions not to pursue the discovery of the father in every case was rooted in gendered power structures and indicates the gendered nature of illegitimacy charges. The courts punished mothers more frequently than fathers because they depended on the women and on the midwives who assisted them to name the fathers of their children.[26] The percentage of cases naming men remained roughly the same for the entire period, regardless of the woman's racial designation. In cases where white women probably had partners of the same race, the records from the majority of these cases name the men. In a smaller percentage of these cases, the

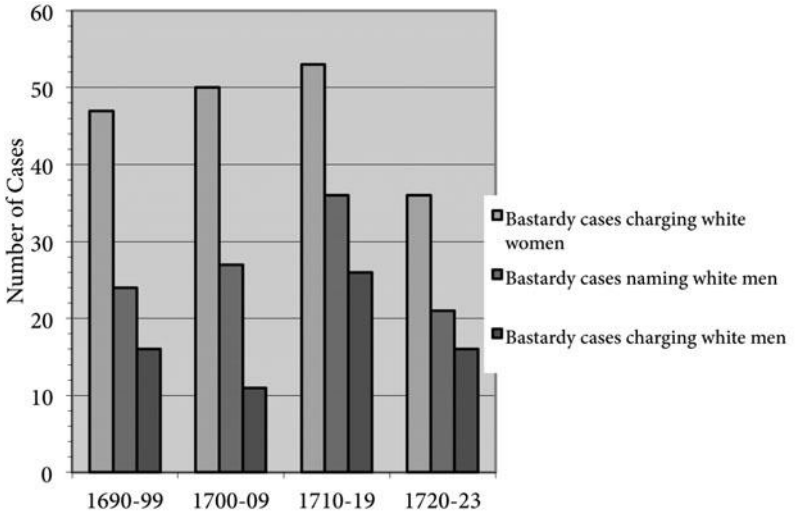

Figure 10.3. Gender differential in white bastardy cases in Bermuda, 1690–1723.

court definitely charged the men (figure 10.3). When fathers appeared in court, they faced charges, fines, and punishments similar to those faced by the women. Overall, 63 percent of cases between 1700 and 1723 named the men involved, a higher percentage than the 46 percent for New Haven County Court in an overlapping time period, 1700–1729.[27] When noting that a father of a particular illegitimate child was black, the clerk omitted the man's name between 25 and 40 percent of the time, depending on the decade, instead merely describing him as "a Negro." While the appearance of a label distinguished these fathers of color from white fathers, who remained racially unlabeled, the court described the illicit actions in all illegitimacy cases using the same formulae.[28] The similarity of language suggests that although white Bermudians were intolerant of both interracial and intraracial extramarital sex, unlike their counterparts in other English colonies they were not categorically more intolerant of the former.

By the second decade of the eighteenth century, simple fornication without an accompanying charge of bastardy became extremely rare (figure 10.4). Both women and men had to answer charges of bastardy. By the mid-1690s, the court seemed mostly concerned with who would

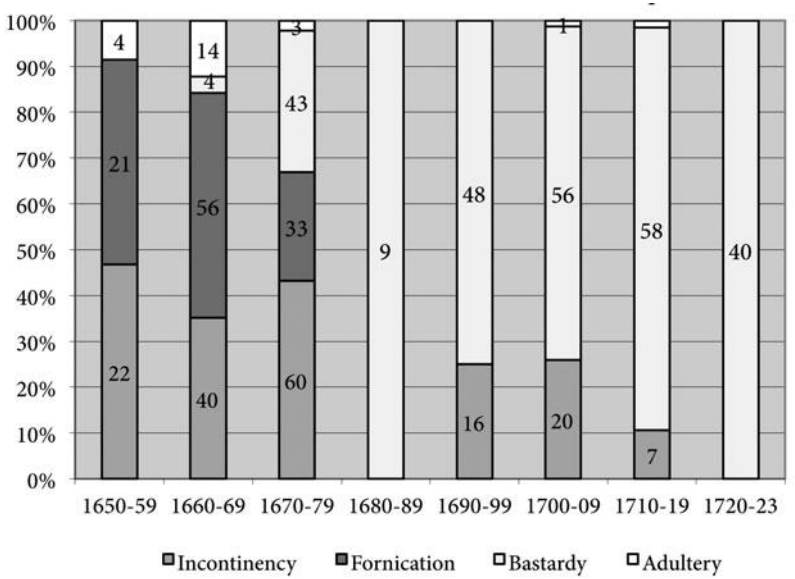

Figure 10.4. Unlawful sex in Bermuda by type of offense, 1650–1723.

take financial responsibility for the child, signaling a greater concern with inheritance and the responsibility for children born out of wedlock. However, their continuing requirement that officials perform whippings in specific places suggests the persistence of the ritualized and performative aspects of sentences.

Significant changes in the prosecution of unlawful sex after 1690 signal a moment at which the interrelationship of race and gender ideologies became sharply visible. The prosecution of white men dropped off while white women continued to be called in, just as in New England. However, there were important differences in Bermuda. Figure 10.5 shows the distribution of racial labels the court applied to women charged with unlawful sex across the entire period, while Figure 10.6 illustrates the shift in racial balance over time. Women of color composed 20 percent of all women who appeared for unlawful sex in Bermuda between 1650 and 1723, but prosecutions of them dropped after 1679 and effectively ceased after 1690. Only two women of color, Mary and Sarah, were charged with unlawful sex after 1690, although several men of color appeared in cases with white women. Once the court declined to punish Bermudians women of color for incontinency, it removed the customary recognition of their marriages. The sudden absence of Bermudian women of color

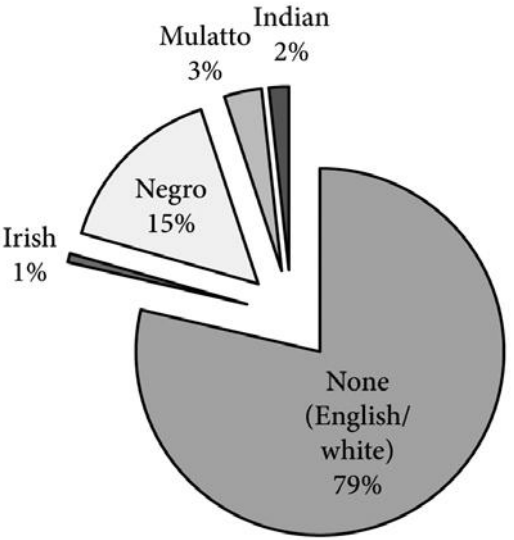

Figure 10.5. Racial labels of Bermudian women charged with unlawful sex, 1650–1723.

appears to weaken the contention that the island, like New Haven after 1720, experienced a reinstitution of the double standard in unlawful sex prosecutions once the expectation faded that the courts would enforce puritan ideas of godly behavior.[29] But the double standard did indeed reappear, only this time it contained a strong racial element. Unlike in New Haven and the broader New England area, women of color were fully within the reach of Bermudian law.

In New England, any similar pattern is harder to discern because of the much smaller number of cases. The number of enslaved Africans who lived in New England reached one thousand only at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Colonists in the plantation region of southern Rhode Island began to import increasing numbers of enslaved Africans beginning in the 1720s. There were many more Algonquians in New England than there were slaves in Bermuda in terms of absolute numbers—on Martha's Vineyard alone, there were 1,500 Wampanoags just before King Philip's War in 1675–76—but they were not fully subjugated under the English court system. While many of those remaining in southern New England after the war became ensnared in English systems of law, the English did not show a strong interest in prosecuting Indian women for fornication.[30]

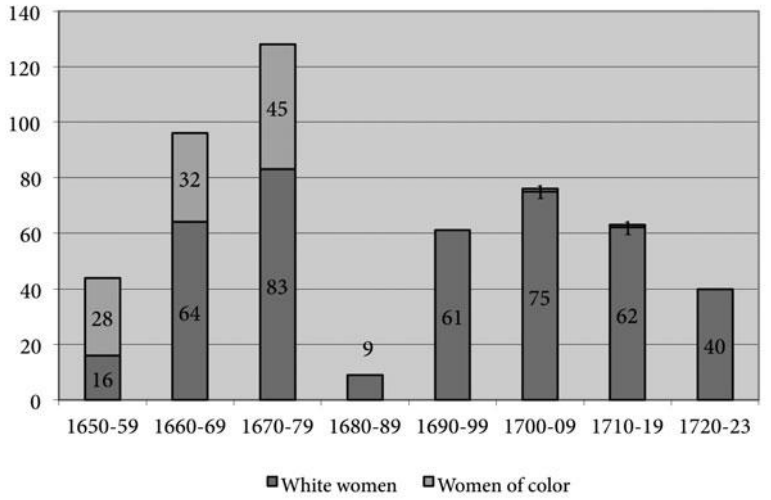

Figure 10.6. Cases charging Bermudian women with unlawful sex by decade, 1650–1723.

White Bermudian women continued to appear on unlawful sex charges as the dominant legal construction of their status reverted to framing them as erring dependents whose sexual exclusivity to a current or future husband was the foundation of all legitimate lineage and property transfer. Bermudian women of color, all of whom were enslaved, were denied that definition of womanhood since all white men could claim access to their bodies. The court's exclusion of women of color marked the development of a racialized definition of womanhood.[31] Once the court no longer expected them to follow the same codes of behavior and no longer held them accountable for transgressing, women of color were present in the law primarily as property rather than as sinners. That shift to an overwhelming emphasis on their status as property did not occur with equal intensity across all aspects of society. It is not possible to know whether congregations had included or continued to include women of color in any disciplinary actions because there are no church registers or ministerial accounts for the time period, but there was no sudden outcry against their very presence in church, which suggests that they continued to appear in church as sinning property.[32]

What is clearer is that women of color lost status in some ways in day-to-day life. After Bermuda's maritime turn, they were mostly shut out of the growing cash economy that developed as sailors and other maritime

craftsmen earned wages for themselves and, if enslaved, for their masters. Their uncompensated labor contributed to the continuing barter system among neighbors and kin, but that system was informal and social rather than recorded in store accounts. When enslaved women were hired out, it was to do work that was not as prestigious, nor as remunerative, as suggested by gendered wage differences in other locations. Moreover, the economic and cultural shift to the sea denigrated purely land-based work like agriculture, which became something only enslaved women and—in the most extreme circumstances—poor whites did, but not men of means in their prime. That exclusive association of agriculture with women of color reinforced the devaluation of such work even as that labor provided some counter to the island's recently developed reliance on imported foodstuffs. This story is not a new one, but the timing of the shift in Bermuda happened later and more abruptly than in other English colonies because of divergent modes of settlement, slavery, and economic development as well as religious differences.[33] Once Bermudian law no longer treated women of color as sinners and a punishable part of the community, white Bermudians more readily reduced the women they enslaved to property and lesser engines of labor.

The Meaning of Absence

Scholars have often treated the silences in court records as an obliteration of alternative narratives, as those with the power to record a story made theirs the more easily observable one.[34] Silences in the record do not, however, have to mean a complete silencing of voices through a majority narrative. Sometimes the less powerful made an intentional choice to remain silent, such as African American women in what Darlene Clark Hine termed the "culture of dissemblance" and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham named a "politics of silence," tactics to obscure painful experiences of rape and domestic violence in favor of presenting a strong front as moral arbiters of African American communities.[35] I prefer to use "absence" rather than "silence" to denote those places in the record where the mainstream narrative has covered over other stories because it allows for the complex mix of such intentional withholding alongside the violence of the archive, as well as emphasizing the potential meaning of those spaces. The absence of racial labels in the archive most often denotes the power of the unmarked norm, where at least in the British Americas, a name without any racial designation denoted an English or European individual. But absences without language in these English

colonial court records were more than a record of obliteration; they were expressive, inhabited spaces. Using "absence" rather than "silence" emphasizes the meaning-making of practice and performance, the embodied presence-in-absence of women of color in the court records.

We need to focus on the law because we have little else to go on for glimpsing the lives of Bermudian women of color. There are few private papers beyond wills and inventories, few church records survive, and midden piles are not useful in teasing out racially differentiated activities because habitation was so mixed. We might imagine that women of color were able to exchange news, support, or express rivalries and conflicts as they went about their daily tasks, or sat at plat making. We might speculate at the nature of the community they were able to form, the biological and emotive family and kinship bonds they were able to create, cultivate, and pass on to their children. But there is no way to know. And while we must ask the questions, we must also be honest about what we have lost, what they lost, what is irretrievable. Pretending that we can completely reconstruct the lives of these women would not only be a fiction, it would be acquiescing in the violence that created and continued the system of slavery under which they all lived.[36]

Women of color were central to the conceptualization and treatment of unlawful sex. What was done about and to them was always present. Even when the details of analysis concentrate on other groups, they exist not only as that "other" against which European women became white women but as a significant pivot around which the analysis turns. Twenty years ago, feminist theorist Evelyn Hammonds wrote about the submersion of sexuality in scholarly attention to women of color. She summarized the "metaphors of speechlessness, space, or vision" scholars used to describe African American women's sexuality, particularly the "'void' or empty space . . . where black women's bodies are always already colonized."[37] If we invert the concept of this "empty" space, we can see the inhabited space that presses against the shape of everything around it. In these court records, women's bodies molded the concepts and ideas around them. The ever less frequent appearance of women of color in unlawful sex cases was essential to codifying racial differences in the law.

Scholars need to consider what this dual meaning of absence as obliteration and absence as power does to our consideration of the absence of women of color from the archives. In the tale of unlawful sex in Bermuda, absence is negative in terms of the archive's destruction of human experience. These statutory laws and unlawful sex cases from the Bermuda court records reveal very little about African and Indian women's

intentional sexuality. What they do show, and fairly extensively at that, is European interpretation, perception, and use of those women's bodies and sexuality. The eradication of women of color from the courts and from the archive is what enabled the racial system to exist and continue, which put women of color at the fulcrum of power. Absence was not merely oblivion but rather a confirmation of enslaved women's centrality in the articulation of human difference. What did it mean for women of color to be the focal point of power in slavery's system of dominance and hierarchy, yet with the least individual control? Although one of the least powerful groups in the system of slavery, women of color were not a void. Their bodies may have been colonized, but that very act of receiving colonization invested extraordinary interpretive power in those bodies, which shaped the proceedings in court by their absence. We can never know anything approaching the full scope of their lives. But collectively they begin to show how the many who did not leave their own stories nonetheless filled the space of an Atlantic world of slavery.

Bermuda offers an unusual example of a colony without an indigenous population, one in which slavery was very much a part of the fabric of life but enslaved people were not a majority of the population. Even though the island was exceptional in many ways, the tensions between local contingencies and Atlantic currents of ideas, culture, and law form part of the larger story of the struggle over changing definitions of human difference in the early modern world and the confusion over how inherited characteristics, including skin color and religion, might fit into those schema. Inheritable racial slavery was the primary form of enslavement by the 1630s, although there were other forms of white bonded and hired labor in the colony that remained into the next century. White Bermudians frequently bequeathed human property to subsequent generations and a range of their laws established a color line. But for most of the seventeenth century, the puritan practice of enforcing godly behavior through the courts meant that the Bermudian magistracy's application of laws punishing sins was more evenhanded than it was in colonies less influenced by puritans. From Bermuda's early decades through the 1690s, many Bermudian women of color came, as Sarah did in 1652, to stand before the court on a charge of unlawful sex. Their disappearance from unlawful sex prosecutions after the 1690s stands out sharply. Patterns of unlawful sex prosecution shifted not because religion disappeared, but because its relationship with the government changed as a result of a broader restructuring of the English empire and intellectual trends within puritanism that

encouraged ministers to defer to the expertise of magistrates regarding the means with which to maintain general civil order.

As religious vocabularies and structures had less of a role in shaping civil order, women of color appeared in court primarily as property, no longer as erring sisters in Christ. Other local and imperial shifts converged to reinforce their subordinate status. The singular association of enslaved women of color with agricultural fieldwork made their contributions less visible in the cash- and wage-oriented maritime economy, creating a racialized definition of womanhood already common to many other locations in the English Atlantic. At the same time, the increased perception that visible success in commerce was linked to and necessary for Protestant victory over Catholic dynasties encouraged white Bermudians to read religious significance into their discounting of the economic contributions made by women of color, an apparent confirmation that the women were inferior Christians.[38]

11 / "If any white woman shall have a child by any Negroe or other slave"

In 1723, Bermudian lawmakers revised the "Act against Bastardy" to include racial categories: "white women" convicted of having a child "by any Negroe or other slave" received an automatic whipping, while their partners would be "publickly whipt . . . under the Gallows by the Common Hangman."[1] For an English colony in the Americas, 1723 was a comparatively late year to codify evolving understandings of human difference in its statutory laws on fornication or marriage. Antigua passed a law in 1644 that specified gradated penalties for "Carnall Copulation" between "any Christian man or woman" and "A heathen man or woman." In 1662, Virginia doubled the fines from 500 to 1,000 pounds of tobacco if "any christian shall commit Fornication with a negro man or woman." Maryland passed a law in 1664 that discouraged interracial marriage between "woemen of the English or other Christian nacōns" and "Negroes or other slaves" by sentencing the woman to thirty years of service, claiming that such unions were "shamefull matches." A 1705 law in Massachusetts instistuted heavy penalties for fornication between "English" men or women or those "of any other Christian nation" and "negro, or molatto" women or men.[2] Plymouth passed a law against fornication in 1645 and had not added race as a category by the time the colony merged with Massachusetts in 1692. Rhode Island prohibited all fornication as part of a general criminal statute in 1663; it did not outlaw interracial marriage until the end of the eighteenth century.[3]

The opposition between "christian" or members of "any other Christian nation" and "negro, or mulatto" categorized Africans as non-Christians.

Virginia's 1662 law was a key moment in Anglo-Virginians' move over the seventeenth century from considering Africans and Indians as "potential Christians" to viewing them as "hereditary heathens," a perception supported by Virginia's demographic of continued high rates of slave importations. Maryland's law designated the children of those "shamefull matches" as inheriting an enslaved status from their fathers. Massachusetts legislators passed that colony's law as a response to their increased awareness of the presence of Africans and other non-English inhabitants, a perception heightened by New England colonists' participation in the wars of the end of the seventeenth and into the early eighteenth century.[4] In contrast, when Bermudian legislators defined "white" against "Negroe or any other slave" in 1723, they conflated darker skin color with bonded status but did not draw on interlocking categories of religion and race.

"To mary with or have commerce with any negroes molattoes or musteses"

When legal scholars of race have mentioned Bermuda, many of them have pointed to a 1662/3 resolution against interracial sex as the beginning of racial separation in Bermuda, a timing on par with the Chesapeake.[5] But such interpretations take this resolution out of its local context, giving it more legal weight than it had. In 1662/3, the Assembly reported to the Somers Islands Company that it had resolved against the insolent carriage of "negroes molattoes & musteses." The reported enactment warned against individuals in those categories carrying themselves "mutinous or proudly against his Maiesties Subjects." Excluded from the category of the king's subjects even if no master claimed "their services," "negroes molattoes & musteses" were "not Free to all nationall priviledges." Any "Free borne subjects" who married or had sexual "*commerce*" with persons of African descent were to become servants to the colony, or were to be banished.[6]

While Virginia's 1662 law used religious categories that presumed, as Rebecca Goetz has argued, "English people were Christian; people of African descent were not," Bermuda's General Assembly did not make any use of "Christian" or other reference to religion. Instead, they excluded people of color from "nationall priviledges" of English subjecthood.[7] "Mustee" was a term more common in places like the plantation colonies that parsed degrees of African and Indian descent with greater precision than was common in Bermuda. The word did not often appear

in Bermuda's records. Its repeated presence in this letter to the Company suggests that the proceedings it described were anomalous rather than indicative of the prevailing local racial ideology. This 1662/3 resolution was never effectually enforced, nor did officials present any cases under it.[8] Roughly a decade later, a more limited act that in practice restricted interracial marriage appeared to echo the structure of the 1662 Virginia law discouraging interracial sex. Bermuda's law declared that anyone who married a "colony servant" would themselves become a colony servant "and their posterity likewise."[9] However, as discussed in chapter 9, Bermudian officials encouraged interracial marriages in some circumstances and found ways around the law. In addition, the resolution only applied to the diminishing percentage of the enslaved population who were company slaves rather than the property of private individuals. It thus associated a certain kind of enslaved status with darker skin color but was not a categorical legal restriction of interracial marriage.

Not only was this act anomalous in terms of the racial classifications it used, the case that may have sparked it was itself atypical in comparison with Bermudian unlawful sex case law. Amy Swan's July 1662 case initially seems to show that the English in Bermuda believed interracial sex to be qualitatively different from intraracial sex, but in its full context the case expresses a milder stance without sharp racial differentiation.[10] Swan, who was white, was exiled to Barbados after she had an illegitimate child and declared she was "conscious to her selfe of deserving punishment according to law at the next Assizes, for that shee hath impiusly prostrated her selfe of late to a Negro man called Jose." Swan had petitioned the governor for a sentence of exile rather than the standard whipping of thirty-nine lashes. The governor and council granted her request after several of her friends put in bonds that she would never return to Bermuda.[11] The full range of Bermudian case law shows that the "impiety" of Swan's act lay in having sex outside of marriage—having "prostrated her selfe"—and in bearing an illegitimate child, not particularly in her choice of an African man for a partner.[12] Corporal punishment was not limited to interracial cases, as the court meted out the same corporal punishment of thirty-nine lashes to white women for bastardy with white men.[13] While Swan's case displays the limited options open to a woman convicted of illegitimacy who was unable to pay the requisite fine, it cannot serve as conclusive proof of the court's fundamentally intolerant attitude toward sex between white women and men of color.

The 1662 record of Swan's case is more extensive than for those more numerous cases of bastardy where a white woman paid fines or submitted

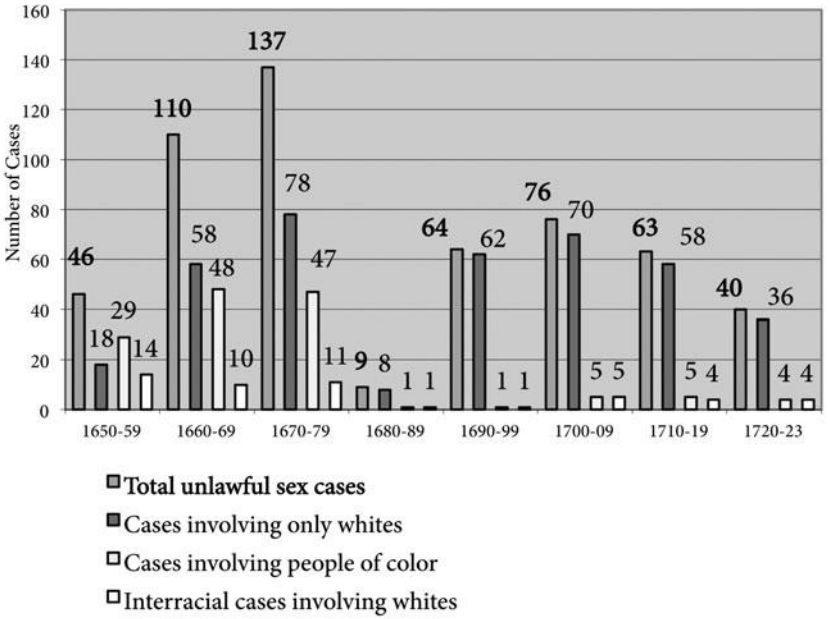

Figure 11.1. Interracial sex cases in Bermuda, 1650–1723.

to whipping for having a child with a man of color. The terseness of the other cases and their lack of explicit condemnations of interracial sex are telling. Sixty-four percent of white women charged in interracial sex cases between 1650 and 1679 were offered a financial option. The participants in interracial cases more often received a corporal punishment, but this harsher treatment was not automatic, nor were the punishments cast in any language of pollution. Punishment for interracial sex cases actually became less severe over time, if financial punishment is viewed as necessarily less harsh than corporal punishment. Compared to the earlier period, proportionally more white women appeared for interracial sex between 1690 and 1723 (see figure 11.1). These cases evince a much higher percentage of financial options: 80 percent (twelve cases) included opportunity for the white woman to pay a fine, something that five of them were definitely able to do.[14] When the court did inflict whippings on English women in the early eighteenth century, it was often for offenses besides interracial sex such as when a white woman was a repeat offender in intraracial fornication cases or when she did not or could not pay the fine for bastardy. In April 1713, Anne Appowen received twenty lashes while naked from the waist up and tied "at the Court Door" because she

had repeatedly refused to pay the fine for having an illegitimate child and had changed her testimony about the father's identity. Mary Adams and Blanche Green received similar punishments over the next couple of years.[15]

"The insolency of Negroes and slaves"

In contrast to the 1662/3 resolution, Bermuda's 1690 "Act against Bastardy and Incontinency" contains a distinct lack of rhetoric about racial and religious difference or indeed the appearance of any racial or skin-color categories. The law was passed after the Crown took over the colony in 1685, an assumption of governmental power that was part of a larger effort to centralize the British empire and bring the North American colonies under tighter control. After the usual preamble decrying "the hainous and growing Sin and Evil of Bastardy Debauchery and Incontinence practesed in these Islands," the act set the fine for the convicted mother at £5 Bermuda money. If she refused to declare the father under oath, then she had to pay his fine of £5 as well as her own. If the mother did not pay, the justice of the peace was to order her publicly whipped by an inferior officer of the parish. The only distinction created in the administration of fines was between an unmarried father and a married one: a married man who fathered an illegitimate child had to pay £10, twice the fine given to an unmarried man. No matter what his marital status was, he had to provide maintenance for the child.[16] The law included no racial or religious labels, nor did it mention freedom status.

Other Bermudian laws continued to be free from language of defilement even as dark skin color became a priori evidence of enslaved status. By the end of the seventeenth century, *Negro* became synonymous with *slave* so that references to the enslaved population appeared as "Negroes and Other slaves." The Assembly passed an "Act against Buying, Selling, or Bartering with Negroes and other Slaves" in 1690 with language identical to that of the original act passed in 1687, while the 1698 act against stealing oranges mentioned the "great Practice" of "Negroes and other Slaves in these Islands." The text of the latter act also broke down the category of "other Slaves" further, to "Negro, *Indian*, or other Slave."[17] This conflation of skin color and enslavement did not result in the widespread appearance of racialized language in the laws regulating sex. The Assembly took no action to insert racial language into the text of the "Act Against Bastardy." When Governor Bennett wrote to the Council on Trade and Plantations to explain its 1690 version, he merely expressed

the concern that the language of the law put it into force for only nine months.[18] In 1707, the Assembly took up the act and passed an impressive sounding "Additional Clause to explain the act, Intituled, An Act against Bastardy, and Incontinency" which simply revised the 1690 language to clarify its time of effect and did not address matters of content.[19]

There was one law before 1723 that briefly—for just over a year—applied racial categories to the regulation of sex. The 1704 "Act to prevent the insolency of Negroes and Slaves" was a noteworthy development in Bermudian law, but not because it was the true beginning of racialized language in the island's legal codes. Instead, it demonstrated the influence of the local in determining a particular legal climate, as well as the sweeping Atlantic power of a governing empire to step in. The act set castration as the punishment for "Negros and other Slaves" who were convicted "for attempting or Getting White women with Childe." In addition, the bill was to make arrangements "for furnishing all such White Women" with the necessary financial and material support. White men's concern with retaining their bodily possession of white women (and, by implicit extension, all women) was evident in this specification of castration as the consequence for men of color who impregnated white women. The Bermudian law remained in force only from April 1704 until August 1705, when the Council on Trade and Plantations demanded its repeal.[20]

Some scholars have assumed that the "insolencies" referred to in the 1704 act were of a similar kind as those listed in the 1623 "Act to restrayne the insolencies of Negroes," instances in which enslaved Indians, Africans, and mulattos refused to act out the deference and submission demanded by their European masters.[21] The specific activities mentioned in the 1623 act, confirmed in 1690 under Crown administration, included stealing livestock and foodstuffs; tools; carrying weapons when abroad; walking abroad in the night; and selling or bartering. This law was similar to the restrictions created in many slave codes of other English colonies with significant slave populations. And as enslaved people did in many other places, Bermudians of color pushed against such restrictions.[22] The discussion in the Assembly about the law, however, reveals that officials were concerned with one particular activity that they felt displayed a complete lack of respect for "white" authority as represented in the control of sexual access to "White Women." The emphasis was on the possibility or actuality of progeny—"attempting or Getting White women with Childe"—that threatened white men's control of family lines. Given this specific kind of "insolency," the punishment of

castration, while extreme even under English imperial guidelines, was very particularly chosen to fit the perceived crime.

At the turn of the century, there was a precipitous decline in the proportion of adult white men in Bermuda's functional and absolute population. Increasing maritime activities took men off-island for much of the year and resulted in higher mortality rates than for other adults. A 1692 yellow fever epidemic hit Bermuda's epidemiologically isolated inhabitants hard, killing nearly one of every eight people in three months. Adult white men experienced the worst rates of mortality at 36 percent, which accelerated the trend to a female-majority society.[23] A 1703 bastardy case may have exacerbated Bermudian officials' concern about this demographic shift. In that case, the court sentenced Anne Robinson to thirty-one lashes "on the Naked Back well laid on" while she was tied to a post in view of the court for "having a Child by a Negro Called Dick." Dick was sentenced to fifty-one lashes to be "Severely Laid on." In addition to the greater number of lashes, Dick had to receive the lash of the whip after the constable had "Strip[ped] him Stark Naked," rather than being unclothed only from the waist up as was standard in corporal punishments. The entire ritual was to take place while Dick was "Tyed to a post in Sight of the Court and of the said Anne Robinson."[24] The quality and level of coercion in their relationship is impossible to ascertain. In a slave system she would not have had to resort to her own physical force to overpower him. Dick "belonged to Widdow Harris" and so was not under Robinson's direct control, but the balance of power was overwhelmingly hers. However, the court's requirement that Ann watch Dick's punishment indicates that, at least in their estimation, she felt a certain level of affection for him and therefore would find the forced witnessing difficult.

The court very specifically made Robinson witness its power over Dick's body, demonstrating that the men who sat on the court controlled both of them. That act of coercion was an important part of this particular performance of legal violence and revealed the jurymen's need to reassert their control over Robinson's white female body as well as Dick's black male body. The further act of stripping Dick "Stark Naked" increased the humiliation and the pain of the punishment and denoted that his transgression was different from that of other offenders. The exposure of Dick's genitals also exposed the nature of the sexualized threat the officials perceived in Ann and Dick's intimate relationship and in the resulting child. The lashes had a more targeted message than the generalized debasement of enslaved people's bodies that was so often the context

of judicial violence in other colonies. Unlike mid-eighteenth-century North Carolina, where courts strictly limited the corporal punishment appropriate for whites while reaffirming it for blacks and dispensing whippings, brandings, and amputations through special slave tribunals, early eighteenth-century Bermuda courts continued to order whippings for white Bermudians as well as for Bermudians of color. In both cases, however, the reassertion of authority and control was similar.[25]

The record of the Assembly's debate on the 1704 act did not refer to this case, but it may well have been on some legislators' minds. The extremity of Dick's punishment and the unusual requirement of making Anne witness his whipping was of a piece with the severity of the 1704 legislation. The finely targeted nature of the judicial violence in the 1703 case and the 1704 act made them stand out from the bulk of unlawful sex cases and statutes in Bermuda. The mandate that the woman watch her partner's whipping was new. It is possible that the court felt particularly aggrieved in Robinson's case because only a few years earlier her church vestry had remitted 40 shillings of the fine she received for the birth of an illegitimate child. However, the passage of the 1704 act hard on the heels of the 1703 case and the nature of the punishments in question suggest that something deeper than a repeat offender was at work. These unusual legislative performances dealing with the most intimate parts of human bodies happened within a short span of eight months.[26] Robinson came from a Quaker family (her own practice is not clear), but if religiously inflected body practices had been an instigating factor to the law, the Assembly would probably have issued restrictions on Quakers or a proclamation against them.

In their discussions about the 1704 act, the Assembly focused on the threat to gendered hierarchy and authority and did not turn to any language of defilement even as they contemplated and attempted to enact a direct attack on other men's bodies. Here indeed was white men's gendered power in action, with the goal of maintaining their access to women's bodies and to keep any other men away. Men of color who had sex with white women were insolent because their intimate access to white women threatened white men's control over those female bodies. In other colonies, castration was specified for punishment of black rapists; magistrates in New Haven often assumed force in cases involving black men and white women.[27] In that context, Bermuda's attempt to legislate castration for any sex between black men and white women tried to avoid the issue of the woman's consent and to equate any such contact as forced by definition. The women themselves and the purity of their

bodies were less of a concern than the challenge to white male authority. There was no hint that Robinson's white body had been polluted by her intimate contact with Dick's black body. Robinson's own corporal punishment, while less common for white women, was not extraordinary. Women who had multiple children out of wedlock, as she had, received increasingly severe penalties in an attempt to dissuade them from having more.

Unlike the Bermudian law to which it responded, the central English government's repeal conflated racial and religious outsiders. In doing so, it revealed the overlap of religious and racial markers of difference. The Council on Trade and Plantations instructed Governor Bennett to repeal the act because of the clauses setting castration as the punishment, which "are disaproved as unhumane and contrary to all Christian Laws." However, other corporal punishment was perfectly acceptable and indeed "necessary" for "that generation of people."[28] Often used in the pejorative sense, "generation of people" in this short directive from Whitehall carried another layer of meaning highlighted by the letter's reference to "Christian Laws." Psalm 95 cautions the faithful against hardening the heart as did those who wandered in the wilderness, which caused God to declare, "Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said, . . . they have not known my ways."[29] "This generation" refers to those who tempted God to anger through their own sin. In Luke 11, Jesus described an "evil generation," the scribes and Pharisees who tried to tempt him, who were condemned by all. The Council on Trade and Plantations included all "Negroes and other slaves" in the category of sinners and those who denied Christ with the scripturally resonant phrase "that generation of people," making the letter's reference to "Christian Laws" more deeply seated and significant than might first appear to a modern secular eye. More than a meaningless phrase that invoked a particular standard of treatment only to ignore it by condoning enslavement, the religious component framed Africans as sinners who needed to be "kept under due obedience and correction." In this instance, the Council used mutually reinforcing religious and racial categories to label enslaved Africans as an outside "generation" of people who yet remained within the larger community of sinners.

Without any language of defilement in the discussion of the law, the Bermuda Assembly's concern over bodily contact between men of color and white women was mainly that it upset the hierarchy of power. An important ingredient of that hierarchy was the separation of race based on skin color, held to be commensurate with freedom. The issue was not

so much a perceived need for purity of the blood, however, but of financial responsibility for the woman's pregnancy and support of the resulting child. The insolence lay in "Negroes and other slaves" having sexual contact with "white women," but the Assembly expressed no apprehension that such women might be damaged or impure because of such contact. In the seventeenth century, "insolency" had the connotation of offensive contempt or impertinence stemming from presuming more than one's status allowed.[30] Even after the governor had received notice of the Council's repeal of this act, the tone and content of his opinion on the bastardy law remained the same. Bermuda court records contain no cases resulting from the application of this law, perhaps because it was in force for such a short time, and the Assembly did not try to reintroduce it. In that repeal, the men who served on the Assembly experienced their own legislatively subordinate position in the English empire, although unlike Dick and his partner Ann Robinson they did not suffer bodily harm as a result of their brief transgression of imperial authority.

"Mixt Issue Between Christians and Negro's Forbidden"

Interracial sex appeared as a specific concern in Massachusetts law two decades before it did in Bermuda. Scholars disagree about whether the mainland colony experienced a sharp increase in the number of enslaved Africans living and working in English households at the end of the seventeenth century.[31] Even though Africans had been in the region for more than sixty years, their numbers may have reached some kind of threshold that sparked officials to regulate intimate contact on the colony level. That regulation invoked religious distinctions to reinforce racial differences.

Race was not yet skin color and freedom status alone; religious affiliation, presumed or actual, lay at the foundation of the categories in the 1705 law. The language of the law placed Christians in opposition to Africans. The act declared that, "none of her majesty's English or Scottish subjects, nor of any other Christian nation within this province shall contract matrimony with any negro or mulatto."[32] The grouping of British subjects with those of "any other Christian nation" in opposition to "any negro or mulatto" implicitly labeled Africans as non-Christians. Here religious affiliation carried overtones of state power: individuals were subjects of Christian nations. The specific reference to the Christian nations of England and Scotland called to mind the national character of these Protestant churches. Primary affiliation was meant to be

to one's own nation, whether English, Scottish, or Dutch. But including other Christian nations also pointed to an important awareness of an international reformed body of Christ. Although the formal title of English monarchs listed Ireland (along with France), the Irish were generally Catholic and so in a different category than the mostly Protestant Scottish. Individuals of African descent were presumed not to be "of any other Christian nation," an assumption that would not have been accurate in all cases. Besides enslaved people from the Kongo, where Portuguese Catholicism had a substantial impact, some Africans in New England did become members of puritan churches.[33]

This law did not overlay a "real" racial difference with a religious difference in its separation of subjects of Christian nations from "any negro or mulatto." Rather, the religious difference carried weight and effected distinctions between groups of people in ways that often ran parallel to ethnic and racial categories, adding significance to the definition of difference. When the law described certain groups of people as subjects of Christian nations (English or Scottish) in opposition to other groups outside that category ("negro or mulatto"), it used religious affiliation to draw a boundary between them. Religion functioned to describe difference between English or Scottish, and "negro or mulatto."

However, religious differences could also undermine seemingly obvious ethnic designations. The official narrative of the Glorious Revolution during William III's reign questioned the Englishness of the Catholic James II, even as the shared confessional bent conferred an attainable Englishness on the Protestant William of Orange, prince of the Low Provinces.[34] In the case of African Catholics from the Kongo, the factors of skin color, enslaved status, and—in the eyes of Massachusetts officials—"papist" religion combined to place them outside the realm of subjects of a Christian nation. Rather than emphasizing each individual as a member of the body of Christ, the text of the "Act for the Better Preventing of a Spurious and Mixt Issue" assigned a Christian character to entire nations, a designation that reinforced the seemingly natural and inevitable characteristic of those nations and the ineradicable difference of the peoples excluded from them.[35] The specific mention of two Protestant nations implicitly narrowed the subsequent reference to "any other Christian nation" to exclude Roman Catholics.

The law only listed individuals of African descent—"Negroes or mulattos"—as those with whom individuals of Christian nations would produce a "mixt" issue. It did not include Natives, who were another major segment of the population. That elision was the result of deliberate

strategy. The initial bill that came from the deputies had included Natives, but Samuel Sewall and others argued to keep them out of it. He recorded with satisfaction, "I have got the Indians out of the Bill, and some mitigation for them [*the Negroes*] left in it." Sewall's "mitigation" was a directive to masters to allow those they enslaved to marry each other. Sewall worried that the harsh penalties of the bill as originally proposed "will be an Oppression provoking to God, and that which will promote Murders and other Abominations" as desperate parents killed their newborn children out of fear that their miscegenation would be discovered.[36] Although nominally legal, Indian-white marriages did not often appear in town records as ministers and town officials were unwilling to sanction such couples.[37]

Sewall had raised questions about slavery five years previously in *The Selling of Joseph*, but in his description of the 1705 Massachusetts act in his diary, he did not frame slavery on its own as quite enough of an oppression to provoke God. Instead, he expressed his ambiguous attitude about the source of human differences. The aspect of the law that most grabbed Sewall's attention was that it forbade "fornication, or Marriage of White men with Negros or Indians." The text of the law focused on a separation to be maintained between those who were "English, Scottish, or other Christian nation" and "Negroes and mulattos." Unlike the members of the Assembly, Sewall did not indicate particular concern with the white women who might fornicate with or marry Africans or Natives. In conceptualizing and labeling the groups to be kept discrete, he turned to racial categorizations rather than religious ones. The notion of difference based on skin color without reference to religious affiliation came out of Sewall's ability to see Africans as potentially part of the body of Christ even as he worried that they would always remain separate from the body politic.[38] Because, in his eyes, Africans could become Christians, religion was not what separated the categories of people listed in the Massachusetts law.

The "Act for the Better Preventing of a Spurious and Mixt Issue" included clauses against interracial fornication in addition to the heavy penalties for interracial marriage. It began by specifying "That if any negro or molatto man shall commit fornication wth an English woman, or a woman of any other Christian nation within this province, both the offenders shall be severely whip'd." The man was to be sold out of Massachusetts, and the woman had to maintain any resulting child at her own expense. If she could not, then she was to be indentured until she paid the cost for maintenance. The penalties for an "Englishman, or man

of other Christian nation" and "a negro, or molatto woman" who had sex were slightly different. After being whipped, the man had to pay a £5 fine as well as maintenance for any resulting child; the woman did not suffer a whipping but was to be sold out of the colony. Excusing African women from whipping signaled that the legislators perceived African women to be less capable of restraining their impulses to sin and thus more marginal in society. It also fit with the overall economic push of the law, which was concerned with assigning responsibility for cost of illegitimate children and protecting property rights in the form of human chattel.[39]

The asymmetry of the gendered punishment structure reveals how the concept of heritable slavery circulated through the British empire at the beginning of the eighteenth century. If an "English woman, or a woman of any other Christian nation" could not afford the maintenance for her child, her labor would be sold to pay the sum. But no mention of indentured servitude appears in the clause concerning an "Englishman, or man of other Christian nation." The children of enslaved African women and free English men could more readily be sold to pay for the cost of their maintenance than could the children of enslaved African men and free English women because children followed the freedom status of the mother.[40]

The visual significance of the delineation between "Christian" and "Negro or mulatto" is unmistakable in the contemporary publication of the law. To assist readers in finding particular laws passed in a given session, each page had a running header, usually a short phrase taken from the title that summarized the topic of the law or laws appearing below. Other laws and their headers published in the same May and October 1705 pamphlet included "An Act Directing the Method of Payment of Souldiers," with the header "Method of Payment of Souldiers," and "An Act in Addition to the Act for Due Regulation of Weights and Measures," which became simply "Weights and Measures." Unlike these other laws and their abbreviated forms, the header for the "Act for the Better Preventing of Spurious and Mixt Issue" introduced two new terms with "Mixt Issue between Christians & Negro's Forbidden."[41]

This assumed religious difference according to which Africans could not be Christians also bordered the text of the law in marginalia summarizing the key clauses forbidding interracial intimacy (figure 11.2). Where the text of the law specified the punishment for "any Negro, or Molatto men" and "an English woman, or a Woman of any other Christian Nation" who committed fornication, the marginal note indexed the

An Act for the better preventing of a Spurious and Mixt Iſſue, &c.

Be it Enacted by His Excellency the Governour, Council and Repreſentatives in General Court Aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That if any Negro, or Molatto men, ſhall commit Fornication with an Engliſh Woman, or a Woman of any other Chriſtian Nation within this Province, both the Offenders ſhall be ſeverely Whip'd at the diſcretion of the Juſtices of Aſſize, or Court of General Seſſions of the Peace within the County where the offence ſhall be committed; And the man ſhall be ordered to be Sold out of the Province, and be accordingly ſent away within the ſpace of Six Months next after ſuch order made; And be continued in Priſon at his Maſters charge, until he be ſent away. And the Woman ſhall be Enjoyned to Maintain the Child (if any there be) at her own Charge; And if ſhe be unable ſo to do, She ſhall be diſpoſed of in Service to ſome of Her Majeſties Subjects within the Province, for ſuch Term as the Juſtices of the ſaid Court ſhall order, for the Maintenance of the Child.

Penalty for a Negro or Molatto Man, committing Fornication with a Chriſtian Woman.

And if any Engliſh man, or man of other Chriſtian Nation within this Province, ſhall commit Fornication with a Negro, or Molatto Woman, the man ſo offending ſhall be ſeverely Whip'd at the diſcretion of the Juſtices of the Court of Aſſize, or Court of General Seſſions of the Peace, before whom the Conviction ſhall be; and ſhall alſo pay a Fine of *Five Pounds* to Her Majeſty, for and towards the Support of the Government; And be Enjoyn'd to Maintain the Child, if any there be. And the Woman ſhall be Sold, and ſent out of the Province as aforeſaid.

Penalty for a Chriſtian Man committing Fornication with a Negro or Molatto.

And if any Negro or Molatto ſhall preſume to Smite or Strike any Perſon of the Engliſh, or other Chriſtian Nation, ſuch Negro or Molatto ſhall be ſeverely Whip'd, at the diſcretion of the Juſtices before whom the Offender ſhall be convicted.

Penalty for a Negro or Molatto Striking a Chriſtian.

And be it further Declared and Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That none of Her Majeſties *Engliſh* or *Scottiſh* Subjects, nor of any other Chriſtian Nation within this Province, ſhall contract Matrimony with any Negro, or Molatto. Nor ſhall any Perſon, duely Authorized to Solemnize Marriages, preſume to joyn any ſuch in Marriage, on Pain of Forfeiting the Sum of *Fifty Pounds*; One Moiety thereof to Her Majeſty, for and towards the Support of the Government within this Province, and the other Moiety to him or them that ſhall Inform and Sue for the ſame, in any of Her Majeſties Courts of Record within the Province, by Bill, Plaint or Information.

No Chriſtian to marry with a Negro or Molatto.

And no Maſter ſhall unreaſonably deny Marriage to his Negro with one of the ſame Nation.
Any Law, Uſage or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Penalty for joyning any ſuch in Marriage.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That from and after the firſt day of *May*, in the year One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſix, Every Maſter of Ship or Veſſel, Merchant or other

Negros may Marry with thoſe of their own Nation.

Figure 11.2. "An Act for the Better Preventing of Spurious and Mixt Issue." 1705. *Acts and Laws [May 30, Oct. 24, 1705] . . . Third Session* (Boston, 1705), 288. (Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society)

"Penalty for a Negro or Molatto Man, committing Fornication with a Christian Woman." Similarly, the second note pointed to the "Penalty for a Christian Man committing Fornication with a Negro or Molatto" where the text of the law had the more expansive "English man, or man of other Christian Nation" and "Negro, or Molatto Woman." There was just enough room that the printer could have squeezed in "Woman" in the margin. Without making too much of this omission, it is a reminder of the ways in which Europeans' regulation of enslaved African women tried to strip them of any claim to a protective womanhood. Although more women than men appeared in court on charges of fornication, the act mentions men before women in both clauses and related marginalia. In the expression of the law and in practice, gender served as a structuring element. Men were presented as the instigators in the marginalia, whereas the text of the law held women responsible. The header and the marginalia of the printed act went beyond the words of the act in reinforcing the categories of "Christian" and "Negro."

Virginia's 1705 Law of Servants and Slaves already had a legal precedent to draw on for the overlap of religious and racial categories: the 1691 law that outlawed interracial marriage and fornication using religious terms. A Christian status became not something that one practiced or believed, but rather something in the blood, something hereditary. Whether or not an individual was "of Christian parentage" was what determined her or his freedom status. Although the 1705 Virginia law used only racial descriptors in the sections on marriage and fornication, religion as a means of defining human difference still structured those sections because they followed a description of children born out of wedlock as "abominable mixture and spurious issue."[42] As discussed in chapter 9, "abominable" was not an indication on its own that interracial fornication was qualitatively worse than intraracial fornication. But once the law collapsed religion and race as a unitary system of marking difference, the mixture of Christian and non-Christian that crossed the divide of spiritual affiliation was sinful, abominable.

The counterpoint between "Christian parentage" in the Virginia law and "Christian nation" in the Massachusetts law suggests a difference in their respective conceptions of the process for attaining membership as a Christian. "Parentage" was rooted firmly in the body and in the inheritance of blood, but "nation" was more ambiguous. It was possible to be born into a nation, but it was also possible to join it, as William of Orange had, through religious affiliation. Massachusetts legislators' preference for "nation" instead of "parentage" seems somewhat curious

at first because of New England's particular history of internal struggles among seventeenth-century puritans over the definition of being a Christian. In that often contentious argument over extended baptism (whether to baptize the children of adults who were baptized but had not themselves given an accounting and public performance of their faith), proponents who wrote extensively about the newer practice promoted a definition of membership in the body of Christ that was more generally located in family and civic society than in specific congregations.[43]

Only a few churches initially followed such practices (and minister and congregation were often enough on opposing sides of the issue), but increasing numbers began to adopt them in the decades after King Philip's War. By 1700, just over half of them had adopted extended baptism, which might seem to push puritan churches to hereditary conceptions of membership in which parentage mattered a great deal. However, at least some ministers such as Jonathan Mitchel in Cambridge used extended baptism primarily to reach "unchurched" European individuals and families, rather than the children of already baptized adults. This application expanded the body of Christ and reinforced its potential to incorporate new members, an approach more consonant with "nation" than "parentage." The legislators' choice of the former rather than the latter word suggests that the practice of extended baptism resulted in more than a simply familial, inherited sense of Christianity in Massachusetts.[44]

This detailed textual analysis of the act has significance for the world outside early eighteenth-century Massachusetts. It reveals the role of religion in creating spheres of belonging, so that layers of identity began with the English and ended with other Christian nations. The colony's government claimed jurisdiction over other Christians, even if they were foreign subjects, on the basis of their membership in the body of Christ. The Massachusetts Assembly did not have an institutionalized expression of that power in an administrative hierarchy of the church as did the Catholic church, but they could use the common understanding of the Protestant International as a community with some agreed-upon modes of behavior.

"Such white women to be publickly whipt"

The lack of change in tone in Bermuda's record of interracial sex cases before 1723 indicated that the revision of the bastardy law did not mark a new level of concern over the very existence of interracial sex. Once the Council of Trade and Plantations had repealed Bermuda's 1704 act

that set castration as the punishment for "attempting to or getting a white woman with Child," they turned to the flexibility in the existing law against bastardy to communicate the consequences of transgressing white male authority. Both the textual violence of the 1704 act that portended bodily amputation and the lashes scored into the offenders' backs under existing regimes of corporal punishment after the act's repeal attempted to reimpose a particular embodiment of white men's gendered and racially specific power.

In the years leading up to the new law, cases of white women having illegitimate children with men of color did not portray the intimacy itself or the resulting children as particularly repugnant, merely noting that the father was "a Negro" or "an Indian" and that the child was "a molatto" or "a bastard Indian child." The men received a higher number of lashes, but the women were still offered the option of paying a fine. The court used interlocking categories of race and gender in determining the type of punishment they meted out, indicating that their concern remained the threat to white men's authority, not any perceived polluting influences of men of color on white women's purity. In January 1713/4, Elizabeth Tucker and Ben received more than the usual number of lashes, thirty-nine and ninety-nine respectively, for their second bastardy conviction. Even though it was her second conviction, Tucker would still not have been whipped had she been able to pay the fine. The court even offered her more time to gather the necessary funds. The next time Tucker appeared on charges of bastardy was nearly three years later, and she refused to name the father.[45] There were two other cases in July 1722 and February 1722/3 involving white women and men of color. Sarah Jordan and James were convicted of having a "Bastard Indian Child," for which she paid a £5 fine and he received ninety-nine lashes. Martha Vendicks received and paid a £10 fine and Ben "a Negro Man of Judge Darrells" received ninety-nine lashes for "a Negro Bastard Child." Here was no incipient myth of a black beast rapist nor a deeply felt threat to white women's sexual purity.[46] At issue was the preservation of white men's unchallenged possession of white women, not the women's purity.

While the revised 1723 "Act against Bastardy" specified that an offending man of color would be whipped "under the Gallows by the Common Hangman," justices had already had that option under the existing law. In the 1710s, they most frequently exercised the option of whipping under the gallows to punish actions beyond reproduction between men of color and white women. In a case that came to trial in

1713, the cause for the African man's extreme punishment was less the charge of unlawful sex with an English woman and more his attempts to evade the authority of the justices. "James A negro" did not appear as required at a subsequent Quarter Sessions to try his case for fathering a child with Anne Shafton, an English woman. Once apprehended, James was to be taken to the provost marshal and given seventy-nine lashes by the common hangman, the same punishment given (when the governor was feeling lenient) to a failed conspirator in a rebellion.[47]

A 1725 vice-admiralty court case further supports the interpretation that any perceived threat posed by men of color was not a major precipitating factor for the 1723 bastardy law. In other arenas, white men were granting men of color greater freedom of movement and recognition—albeit self-serving—as fellow Bermudians. Just as the maritime turn changed the parameters of enslaved women's lives at the end of the seventeenth century, it also altered the activities and scope of enslaved men's lives. Rather than being relegated to field labor, enslaved men gained access to better regarded and better paid work as skilled artisans such as caulkers, shipwrights, and coopers even before white shipowners became more comfortable with manning their vessels with enslaved sailors from the 1710s.[48] It is the latter practice that revealed white male Bermudians' perception of Bermudian men of color as sharing in a limited form of colonial subjecthood. Vessels routinely sailed with a majority enslaved crew, which sometimes caused customs officers in other parts of the English empire to seize them as being in violation of a 1696 law mandating that a minimum of three-quarters of the crew manning British ships must be British subjects. In the view of the customs officials, enslaved sailors were not British. White Bermudians contested this view in the 1725 Board of Trade case arguing that, for the purposes of the Navigation Acts, enslaved Bermudian men were indeed British subjects, not only by local custom but because they had routinely served in the militia. It is telling that they did not attempt to justify the proportion of enslaved sailors under a law that allowed the naturalization of foreign-born sailors who had served more than two years on a British vessel: in their eyes, island-born men of color were Bermudian and by extension British. While the 1725 decision neither expanded enslaved men's legal rights nor changed anything substantive about the conditions of their enslavement, white shipowners' need for the service of sailors of color led them to contest a racially exclusive construction of maritime subjecthood.[49]

What was newly threatening, however, was white women's financial independence. The pattern of the case law suggests that a prime catalyst

for the statute revision was white women's more frequent ability to pay fines. Before the passage of the amended act, white women with the financial means could pay a fine for interracial fornication instead of receiving a whipping. Under the 1723 law, such escapes would no longer be possible. White women's increased financial independence stemmed from transformations that had begun at the end of the previous century, as well as the growing and particularly Bermudian industry of plat making. In addition to the shift within puritanism that moved away from godly direction of civil order and decreased the court's prosecution of unlawful sex and other moral lapses, the end of the company and the maritime turn altered Bermudian society in multiple ways. It changed island governance, the daily and yearly rhythms of life, as well as some basic demographic realities. As white men and men of color spent more time at sea, women dominated on the island for most of the year. The number of widows and their proportion in the overall population increased as the dangers of maritime life shortened men's lifespans. Only four years after the 1723 revision to the "Act against Bastardy," there were approximately nine single white women for every single white man, and only a third of the unmarried women were widows.[50]

While female-headed households were usually the poorest in North American seaports, as a group white Bermudian women were better off economically than their counterparts elsewhere. A 1691 intestacy act and the terms of most wills distributed real and personal property more equitably among widows and children of both sexes, and fathers increasingly bequeathed land to their daughters as well as to their sons.[51] Through the 1730s, white women's participation in the production and trade of plat or plaited strips of palmetto leaves, used to make fashionable hats and bonnets, played a significant role in that comparatively more comfortable status. The bottom fell out of the market in the 1730s because of competition from Bermudians who emigrated to South Carolina and the Bahamas, changing fashion, and overharvesting, but all that was in the future in the early 1720s, when male lawmakers added racial language to the legal regulation of sex, especially concerned about free mulatto children born to legally independent white women.[52]

The early 1720s marked a turning point in Massachusetts and Bermuda in the solidification of racial hierarchies in the legal system. In Boston, officials tied racial status to long-term service for all people of color, so that parents had to bind out all "free Indian, Negro, or mulatto children" before the age of four to "some English master." The term of service was to

last until the child turned twenty-one.[53] Bermuda finally introduced racial categories into its law against bastardy. The new amendment in Bermuda's 1723 "Act against Bastardy" was more narrowly focused than the 1705 law passed in Massachusetts. The original 1690 act did not address interracial sex specifically, so such cases were at the justices' or courts' discretion. By the first two decades of the eighteenth century, that practice had shifted to mete out much greater punishment for men of African descent who fathered children with white women than for white or even Indian men who did the same.

The interdependence of civil and religious concepts of order in prosecuting sex crimes to the 1690s, even where church and state were legally separate, is clear in the performance of the law. Religion shaped the definition and punishment of sex crimes for men and women of all ethnicities in Bermuda and southern New England through the end of the seventeenth century. Laws in English colonies regulating sex frequently delineated racial categories through religious association, but in Bermuda racial categories appeared later and without recourse to religious language. Men of color continued to appear in court on interracial fornication charges not because of moral concern over that one iteration of sexual activity, but because of the threat they posed to white men's domain over white women's bodies and of ensuring racial separation in lineage. It was not until white women's growing financial resources enabled many of them to escape corporal punishment for sidestepping white men's control over their bodies through bearing children by men of color that white legislators felt it necessary to insert racial differentiation into the existing law on illegitimate births.

The 1723 addition of racial language to Bermuda's "Act against Bastardy" can be read as the delayed success of the Crown's centralization efforts beginning in the 1690s and legislators' efforts to copy the laws of the colonies they encountered on their seafaring ventures. As a Crown colony, Bermuda felt the effects of English attempts to streamline legal cultures, while seafaring brought white mariners into more frequent contact with Caribbean and North American laws and practices, aspects of which they sometimes incorporated when they served as assemblymen. In 1694, for example, the assembly passed a law, imported from Jamaica, which instituted prohibitive taxes against Jews even though at the time there were neither Jews in Bermuda nor any imminent push from Jewish merchants to emigrate. Even as Bermuda was exposed to more transatlantic legal currents, local conditions continued to play a key role. Trade and kin relations might have tied white Bermudians

more closely to colonies in the Caribbean and along the North American coast, locations in their "local" waters of the North Atlantic, but the development of slavery on the island meant that their particular view of the linkages between religion, race, and reproduction was more in line with intellectual currents flowing from England.[54]

Unlike similar statutes passed in other English colonies, Bermudian law governing interracial fornication did not use religious distinctions to define racial categories. This omission of religious identifiers implicitly recognized the Christianity of Bermudians of color. In contrast to white planters in Virginia, white Bermudian legislators did not seem to have harbored deep-seated doubts about the Christianity of Bermudians of color or to espouse the idea that they were "hereditary heathens." In Bermuda, concepts of heredity worked to reinforce white perceptions of Bermudians of color as Christian, if an inferior sort. They would have grown up playing, fishing, swimming, and attending school side-by-side with Bermudians of color, and perhaps even squirming in church within sight of each other.[55] In Bermuda, long familiarity between white Bermudians and those they enslaved may not have mitigated the corrosive effects of categorizing other humans as property, but it does seem to have removed the debate about whether Africans and Indians—or at least those particular Africans and Indians who were Bermudian—could become Christians.

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Epilogue

By the time the first two pearl divers stepped on Bermudian shores in 1616, southern Algonquian homelands that English colonists would come to call New England had known human habitation for as long as anyone could remember, with the memory stretching back and forward through stories passed on until they described a time out of mind. Or for those who ascribe to an alternate way of understanding the past, many thousands of years ago. The ancestors of present-day Natives built astronomically significant mounds and chambers that assisted them in moving through the world as faithful bodies that cultivated the expression of, and access to, spiritual power. The efforts of a handful of English colonists who dissented from the practices mandated by the Church of England to implement their particular understanding of how their individual human bodies related to the unseen world were initially but one small and late-coming stream among many that shaped the physical and cultural landscape. In Bermuda, in contrast, the English performed a significant part in the establishment of permanent human habitation. As the majority of the island's inhabitants, the English had a proportionately greater impact on their new home, one more akin to storm-strengthened waves crashing on a shore, than the colonists in New England did in theirs. But still they were only one of many lines of waves shaping the coastline, dependent on the knowledge and labor of the Africans and indigenous Caribbean people whom they brought to their new colony.

By the early eighteenth century, understandings of human difference had solidified in much of the puritan Atlantic and indeed among

Europeans in the Atlantic world as the sometimes flexible racialist thinking more prevalent in the mid-seventeenth century settled into less malleable categories that placed primary importance on linkages between skin color and specific sets of intrinsic, embodied, and heritable characteristics. As the close relationship between ministerial articulation of sinful behavior and magisterial enforcement of social order loosened among puritans in New England, engaging in Christian practices no longer seemed to be enough to transform non-English bodies into proper candidates for membership in the body of Christ. Some Natives and Africans challenged such definitions by forming their own bodies of Christ and using that community to strengthen their bodies politic. In Bermuda, white Bermudians tacitly included Bermudians of color in their definitions of *Christian*, but they continued to exclude them from most aspects of the body politic except when it made their maritime economy more profitable, for instance by enabling white-owned ships to have primarily enslaved crews.

Early modern Europeans argued over whether faith-full Christian Africans and Indians could even exist, or whether something inherent in their physical bodies barred them from the capacity to become Christian. English colonists and metropolitans arrived at conflicting answers depending on the local labor needs and configuration of slavery in particular locations, as well as religious influence and even personal history. Some Natives fought hard for puritans in New England to recognize them as Christian, as did some Africans, while others rejected such practicing as deeply damaging to themselves and their communities. These often incommensurate definitions of human difference showed, despite their common end point of nineteenth-century racism and its continuing reverberations, a wider range of possibility than scholars once allowed. As a growing body of scholarship demonstrates, the paths were more winding and varied than an automatic and immediate arrival at an absolute dichotomy between unchanging categories of *white* and *not white*. Those multiple journeys mean conflicting terrain with contours that are harder to comprehend and follow than an incorrectly simple map with a single direct trajectory.

Taking note of these multiple paths is much more than a cartographic game of words. Although following the paths and the performances they reveal requires imaginative work, the consequences are anything but imaginary. Instead, the acknowledgment of closely populated worlds of the unseen requires an awareness that early modern places were crowded spaces in which English and European notions of the body and of spiritual

forces were only one way among many to understand and move through the world. It also requires a willingness to expand the archive far beyond direct statements in documents and to consider the cultural power in the formation of the archive. The meaning of absence was never neutral, and tracing its influence on the stories that it is possible to tell results in greater openness to systems of knowledge that may be less familiar to many today. Such multilayered stories enable more finely textured depictions of the past that incorporate voices of individuals beyond those who retained or seized institutional power. In this layered context, the destination of cultural constructions of supposedly fixed and heritable racial categories becomes both less inevitable and yet more predictable. Although categorizing the world into *insider* and *outsider*, *us* and *them* seems to be a universal human trait, there was no inevitability about the particular forms those categories took in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries among the peoples in the Americas.

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Notes

Abbreviations

BCR	Bermuda Colony Records, Bermuda Archives
BW	Book of Wills, Bermuda Archives
Hist. Deerfield	Historic Deerfield Library, Deerfield, Mass.
Mass. Recs.	Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
RICR	John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*
WMQ	*William and Mary Quarterly*

Introduction

1. Mrozowski, Herbster, et al., "Magunkaquog Materiality."

2. See chapter 8 of this volume.

3. On Natives and Europeans in the Northeast, see Greer, *Mohawk Saint*; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*; Little, *Abraham in Arms*; E. Anderson, *Betrayal of Faith*; Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope*; Silverman, *Red Brethren*; Richard A. Bailey, *Race and Redemption*; Romero, *Making War*; Rice, "Reviving Manhood"; and Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening*. In the Great Lakes region, see Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*; Leavelle, *Catholic Calumet*; and Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*. On West and West Central Africans and Europeans in the Atlantic world, see V. Brown, *Reaper's Garden*; Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans*; and James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*. For the interactions of Natives, Africans, and Europeans, see James Carson, *Making an Atlantic World*; Seeman, *Death in the New World*; and K. Block, *Ordinary Lives*.

4. D. D. Hall, *Lived*. On making meaning through performance, see Taylor, *Archive*; Roach, *Cities of the Dead*; de Haardt and Korte, "Corporeal Practices"; and

Reckwitz, "Social Practices." Reckwitz allows for more individual action than Pierre Bourdieu's encompassing cultural system of the "habitus" in *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Michel de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, articulates how daily or near-daily actions encode and create religious meaning.

5. Lindman and Tarter, introduction to *Centre of Wonders*; Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness*, 3–5; Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 29–46.

6. On the specific trans- and circum-Atlantic connections of Protestants of many types, including puritans, Quakers, and Huguenots, see Bremer, *Congregational Communion*; Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*; Mack, *Visionary Women*; Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*; and Murphy, *Conscience and Community*.

7. For this process among the separatists in early Plymouth Colony, see Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*. On the performance of difference in circulations of print culture among the English on both sides of the Atlantic, see Castillo, *Colonial Encounters*.

8. Goetz, *Baptism*. Her careful articulation of the central function of religious categories in the messy and contested development of the concept of race as a concatenation of inherited characteristics and attributes is a significant corrective to scholarship that has downplayed the significance of religion in Virginia. However, her gesture toward Bermuda as following a similar pattern relies primarily on incomplete printed records; see, for example, 98, 110–11.

9. Bayly, *Practice of Pietie*, 547–48. On Bayly's place as a guidebook to puritan practice, see Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 145–49.

10. Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*; Bekkenkamp and de Haardt, eds., *Begin with the Body*; Gowing, *Common Bodies*.

11. For *pniesok*, see Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 30. Romero, *Making War*; James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa,* 104, 65; MacGaffey, "Art and Spirituality," 231–32. A. Irving Hallowell coined the term "other-than-human persons" in the mid-twentieth century to move studies of religion away from the Western-influenced "spirit" and "supernatural"; Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology."

12. Stanwood, "Protestant Moment," 483n8; Peterson, "Theopolis Americana."

13. Kupperman, *Providence*; Levy, "Early Puritanism"; Siminoff, *Crossing the Sound*; Jarvis, "Maritime Masters," 590.

14. For "hotter sort of protestant," see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Moment*, 27. The lowercase "puritan" signals the inclusion of a variety of fluctuating beliefs and practices that did not conform to the dictates of the Church of England while acknowledging their relatedness; see Kupperman, *Providence*, xiii; and Winship, *Making Heretics*.

15. Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists*.

16. Frost, "Quaker versus Baptist"; James and Bozeman, *John Clarke*.

17. Peterson, "Practice of Piety," 81. For conversion narratives as part of a systematized search for the evidence of grace, see Rivett, *Science of the Soul*, esp. chap. 1.

18. McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British America*, chap. 5; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*.

19. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 102–9, 145–56.

20. James, *Colonial Metamorphoses*, 159; Sainsbury, "Indian Labor"; Newell, "Indian Slavery"; Herndon and Wilcox Sekatau, "Pauper Apprenticeship"; Marshall, "Settling Down"; Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*.

21. On shifts within puritanism, see Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandize*. For a detailed study of this process in Connecticut, see Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, 8, 10. On the increasing power of common law and professional lawyers, see McNamara, *Tavern to Courthouse*; and Bilder, *Transatlantic Constitution*.

22. On the Crown's proceedings against colonial charters, see Haffenden, "Crown and the Colonial Charters."

23. For Native life and culture in the century before extended English settlement and through the first decades of continuous contact between English and Algonquians, see Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*.

24. James, *Colonial Rhode Island*, 59–64; Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 28–29, 37–69.

25. Cady, "Boundaries," 5–13.

26. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 6–10.

27. Helpful syntheses of the vast literature on the demography of the transatlantic slave trade include Eltis and Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers*; and Lovejoy, "Trans-Atlantic Transformations."

28. Mavor and Dix, *Sacred Landscape*, 40–55.

29. L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 3–8, chap. 1.

30. Pulsipher, *Subjects*; Richter, *Facing East*.

31. Baker and Reid, "Amerindian Power."

32. Bartlett, ed., *RICR*, 1:474; Marshall, "Settling Down," 41; Ceci, "Wampum."

33. O'Brien, *Dispossession*; Calloway, ed., *After King Philip's War*; Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*; Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History*; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*.

34. Stanwood, *Empire Reformed*.

35. Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*; Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*; Force and Popkin, eds., *Millenarianism and Messianism*, vol. 3; Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*.

36. Lake and Questier, *Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat*. Recent books on the connections between empire building and religion include Juster and Gregorson, eds., *Empires of God*; Pestana, *Protestant Empire*; Stanwood, *Empire Reformed*; and Haefeli, *New Netherland*.

37. On Huguenots and their diaspora, see Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*; Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*; and van Ruymbeke and Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity*.

38. Lampert, "Race"; Groebner, "*Complexio*/Complexion"; K. Wilson, *Island Race*, 1–4; Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*; Roxann Wheeler, *Complexion*. For only a brief sampling of more recent scholarship on the competing explanations for human difference and the meaning of race as a cultural construct in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Goetz, *Baptism*; Knight, "Race and Identity," 1–18; James H. Sweet, "Mistaken Identities?"; C. Kidd, *Forging;* and Chaplin, *Subject Matter*.

39. Egan, *Authorizing Experience*, 25; Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 165.

40. C. Kidd, *British Identities* and *Forging*, terms this body of learning "ethnic theology." On the links between the origins of people, providential reasoning, and the justification of European empires, see Cave, "Canaanites"; and Sayre, "Prehistoric Diasporas."

41. Puritan settlement of New England was not driven by a desire to bring on the millennium. Puritans wished to create a new society based on pure biblical precedent, not centuries of human-inspired change; Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*. On the

dispute over Indian origins, see also Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 12–18, 76–104; and Cogley, "Ancestry of the American Indians."

42. F. Cooper, introduction to *Colonialism in Question*, 8; F. Cooper and Brubaker, "Identity"; James H. Sweet, "Mistaken Identities?"

43. See Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 44, citing Governor Roger Wood to Richard Caswell, Roger Wood letterbook, BCR, BA, frag. F, nos. 1 and 98 ("wee Bermoodians"), 102; [Summary of the state of Bermuda], 1679, The National Archives of the United Kingdom(TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), Kew, England, Colonial Office (CO) 38/1: 57.

44. James H. Sweet, "Quiet Violence," and Saunt, "Indians' Old World," in the forum on Cañizares-Esguerra and Sidbury, "Mapping Ethnogenesis," 209–18; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 61; Coombs, "Phases of Conversion," 351, 357–58.

1 / "One Indian and a Negroe, the first thes Ilands ever had"

1. Butler, *Historye*, 84; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 1:114–15; Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 26–27; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 139–42.

2. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 139; Guasco, "Englishmen and Africans." On the timing of the first sale of Africans in an English colony, see Jarvis, "In the Eye," 147–48n88.

3. Robert Rich to Sir Nathaniel Rich, May 19, 1617, in Ives, ed., *Rich Papers,* 17.

4. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 31–32; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 166.

5. See Oliver, *Caciques*, for these reciprocal relationships in Taínoan cultures. On the immediate and temporal concerns of African religious practices as a means to explain, predict, and control, see Horton, *Patterns*.

6. For a recent debate about the appropriate methodology for making cross-cultural comparisons, see the forum "Ethnogenesis," *WMQ* 68, no. 2 (2011): 181–246. For puritan English efforts to discern and classify sensory evidence of the impression of divine actions on human souls, see Rivett, *Science*.

7. In May 1617, the *Hopewell* brought in Spanish prizes whose cargo included an imprecise number ("a good store") of enslaved people from the Caribbean, making any closer estimate of Bermuda's early non-European population elusive (Jarvis, "In the Eye," 143–48); Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 26, 29, 481–82n26; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 139–49, 761–63 (appendix 1); Jarvis, "Maritime Masters," 590, 591n7 (estimates of birth and death rates), 602; Maxwell, "Race and Servitude"; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders,* chap. 1.

8. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 29–31. Although some Bermudians of color born to enslaved mothers continued to be bound to a limited-term indenture only until adulthood, many others were given ninety-nine-year terms that stretched past a reasonable life expectancy, while white Bermudians parceled out the ownership of children whose parents were claimed by different masters; Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 483n34; Lefroy, *Memorials,* 1:505.

9. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 27, 31; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 157, 158n102. In the colony's first couple of decades, the Somers Islands Company owned most of the slaves in Bermuda, who lived and worked mostly in the households of company tenants but were also sometimes set up in their own households. At the end of the seventeenth century, even the poorest households were more likely to own a slave than not; see Jarvis, *In the Eye,* table 7, 268; and Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders,* 115. Richard Norwood's survey laid out land shares in narrow tracts that facilitated close contact among households; Jarvis, "Bermuda's 'Domesday Book,'" 57.

10. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 57; Lefroy, *Memorials,* 2:442; for instance, see the proclamations or acts exiling free people of color in 1664 (BCR, Bermuda Archives, Hamilton, Bermuda, 5B, pt. 1:24v), 1676/7 (BCR 7:2v), and 1687 (Robert Robinson to William Blathwayt, Lords of Trade and Plantations, Jun. 6, 1687, *Journal of the House of Assembly of Bermuda* [1890], 4:42). For population numbers, see ibid., 4:59. Four years later the governor reported the population to be 6,248, and people of color still constituted 30 percent; see "In answer to a clause in the Governor's Instructions concerning the Number of the Inhabitants of these Islands," May 5, 1691, TNA: PRO: CO 37/25, f. 93. Bermuda's demographics were unusual among English colonies that had significant numbers of slaves. In 1680, slaves in Barbados made up 80 percent of the population. For demographics of other English colonies, see Kulikoff, "A 'Prolifick' People'"; Morgan, *Laboring*, 69–143; and Lovejoy, "Trans-Atlantic Transformations."

11. On the violence of the slave trade archive, see Hartman, "Venus."

12. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 494n85, surveys Bermuda's extant records. On exploring Africans and African "categories of knowledge," see James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*, 4–5; and James H. Sweet, "Mistaken Identities?"

13. On the calculus of empire building and the slave trade, see Morgan, "Demographic Logics"; and Smallwood, *Saltwater.* On layered stories in colonial contexts, see Thrush, "Meere Strangers."

14. The reefs are the barely submerged plateau formed on top of five sea volcanos, last active 100 million years ago, and a ship could travel from deep water to wrecking on shallow breakers in five minutes; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 5–8. On looking over the shoulders of Native individuals as the closest modern scholars can get to the impossibility of "seeing through the[ir] eyes," see Richter, *Facing,* 9. Richter's metaphor is also applicable to the effort to tell the stories of Africans snared in the net of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Heading quotation from Butler, *Historye,* 1–2.

15. Bermuda's highest point juts a mere 249 feet (76 meters) above the water; see "Bermuda," in *The World Factbook 2009* (Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, 2009), www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bd.html.

16. Oliver, *Caciques,* chap. 1, esp. 4–7, argues for the more broadly defined *Taínoan* rather than a rigid classification into Lucayan (Bahamas), Macorix, Ciguayo, and "classic" Taíno based on differentiation in pottery techniques. See also Berman, "Good as Gold"; Keegan, "Columbus"; and David D. Davis and Goodwin, "Island Carib." By the mid-seventeenth century, the people whom later scholars have named Island Caribs were referring to themselves as Karina or Kalina, "manioc eaters." Their descendants today use *Kalinago*; Keegan and Carlson, *Talking Taíno*, 106; Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance."

17. Warsh, "Enslaved Pearl Divers," 346–47, 349 (quoting de las Casas, *Devastation*). Richard Price argues that "Island Carib" fishing slaves were "extremely rare"; Price, "Caribbean Fishing," 1368; see also Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance," 1–4. On the development of the Brazilian slave trade that brought Indians from the interior to coastal regions in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, see Metcalf, *Go-betweens*, 181, 184; and Metcalf, "Entradas." A Pancaruru diver is only one of many possibilities; Langfur, *Forbidden Lands*, chap. 1; Hemming, *Red Gold*, 487–501.

18. James H. Sweet, "Mistaken Identities?" 299; James H. Sweet, *Recreating*, 16; Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans*, 238.

19. Warsh, "Enslaved Pearl Divers," 347, 350. On the slave trade in the Spanish Americas, see de Almeida Mendes, "Foundations," 66–67, 76, 84–85.

20. Warsh, "Enslaved Pearl Divers," 360n29. Warsh assumes acculturation of enslaved Africans from the official use of the term *negros,* "black," without specific origin, as opposed to *africanos* or *bozales,* which signaled someone who had come directly from Africa. On the problems with using acculturation to measure time in the Americas, see James H. Sweet, "Quiet Violence"; and James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares,* 5–8.

21. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 142–43.

22. Stevens-Arroyo, *Cave*, 87–131; Oliver, "Taíno Cosmos," 147–50; Oliver, *Caciques,* 134–36. For Kalina origin beliefs, see Gullick, *Myths*, 26–31; and Banks, "Island Carib," 33–35. On the revision of Irving Rouse's theory of a singular migration from South America to the Caribbean to one proposing multiple migrations, some of which skipped islands closer to the mainland to go directly to the Greater Antilles, see Curet, "Rouse's Contribution," 13–21.

23. Rochefort, *Histoire*, 474–76; Gullick, *Myths,* 64–65.

24. Stevens-Arroyo, *Cave,* 137–38; Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *Décadas*, 2: 629, cited in Keegan, *Stranger King,* 70; P. O'B. Harris, "Nitaíno and Indians," cited in Keegan, *Stranger King,* 70–71.

25. On maps of Bermuda generally, see M. Palmer, *Mapping.*

26. Butler's *Historye,* along with Norwood's *Insularum,* in Pory, *Lost Description*, and *Journal of Richard Norwood,* are the sources for the Bermuda material in Smith, *Generall*; see Jarvis, "In the Eye," 31n1.

27. Between 1576 and 1640, 80 to 90 percent of Africans brought into the Spanish Americas left Africa from Angola; de Almeida Mendes, "Foundations," 66–67, 76, 84–85, who revised the numbers in Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamerica*. See also Miller, "Central Africa," 46–47. For a discussion of the debate over the origins of enslaved Africans in the Americas and the proportion and significance of recent arrivals from Africa, see Kopelson, "One Indian and a Negroe," 285n27.

28. James H. Sweet, *Recreating,* 104, 65; MacGaffey, "Art and Spirituality," 233, 236–37; James H. Sweet, "Evolution of Ritual," 65.

29. De Almeida Mendes, "Foundations," 83–85; MacGaffey, "Art and Spirituality," 234. Although involved in many political conflicts, the Gbe-speaking peoples of the region shared broad cultural similarities as a result of "overlapping migrations" that began around 1000 C.E. Most religious devotions focused on local powers or voduns, but the most powerful voduns had a wider region of influence; James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares,* 14–17.

30. Smallwood, *Saltwater,* 124–26; James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares,* 28–29.

31. James H. Sweet, *Recreating,* 105–8.

32. MacGaffey, "Art and Spirituality," 235–43.

33. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 153; Guitar, "Boiling It Down"; Ligon, *True and Exact History,* 146–64.

34. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 27; Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans,* 216; Robert Rich to Sir Nathaniel Rich, Feb. 22, 1617/18, in Ives, ed., *Rich Papers,* 59.

35. Warsh, "Enslaved Pearl Divers," 352.

36. Butler, *Historye,* 99; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 153; Lefroy, *Memorials,* 1:250–52.

37. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 156; Lefroy, *Memorials,* 1:289 (heading quotation).

38. Keegan and Carlson, *Talking Taíno,* 36–37; Keegan, *Stranger King,* 62; Price, "Caribbean Fishing," 1367.

39. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 32, 485n35.

40. Stevens-Arroyo, *Cave,* 97–98, 100–102, 109.

41. Oliver, *Caciques,* 123–29; Keegan, *Stranger King,* 88–89; Berman, "Good as Gold," 129–30.

42. Keegan, *Stranger King,* 88–89, 58–60.

43. Knight, *Working the Diaspora*, 31; Balandier, *Daily Life*, 103–5; Pigafetta and Lopes, *Report*, 28–29; de Marees, *Description*, 118–19, cited in Knight, *Working the Diaspora,* 27–28.

44. Heading quotation from Lefroy, *Memorials,* 1:114–15.

45. Labat, *Nouveau voyage,* vol. 1 (The Hague, 1724), plate before p. 127.

46. Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 2:419; Deagan, "Taíno Social Dynamics," 601.

47. Keegan, "The Caribbean," 2:1260–77; Benzoni, *La historia*, 56v–57v. On the valuable ethnographic detail in these early images, see Brennan, "Visual Images," 1038–39; Keazor, "De Bry's Images," 135, 148–49; and Sturtevant, "First Visual Images," 1:438, 1:452n50.

48. Balandier, *Daily Life,* 95, 156; van den Broecke, "Description of the kingdom of Loango," Oct. 30, 1612, *Journal*, 98; Morgan, *Laboring,* 146; Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione*, bk. 1, nos. 36, 285–86, 52 (I have followed John Thornton's approach in citing paragraph numbers to allow for cross-referencing with the Portuguese scholarly edition, *Descrição histórica*; see Thornton, "Cavazzi, Missione Evangelica," n. 7); and Jobson, *Discovery*, 116. Women's responsibility for cereal processing and production may have contributed to their retention in Senegambia, which exported only half as many women as men into the transatlantic slave trade; Carney and Rosomoff, *In the Shadow*, 60–61; Robertson and Klein, "Women's Importance," 9–10. In the Bight of Biafra, tilling the ground was a male activity; the area did not contribute significant numbers of people to the transatlantic slave trade until the 1730s; Nwokeji, "African Conceptions," 55–56, 51; cf. Morgan, *Laboring,* 60–61.

49. Keegan, *Stranger King,* 45; Stevens-Arroyo, *Cave,* chap. 6, esp. 103–11; Arrom, *Mitología*, 20–44; Stevens-Arroyo, *Cave,* 223, xi.

50. Breton, *Relations* (1647), cited in Keegan and Carlson, *Talking Taíno,* 106.

51. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, Brazil's annual export of manioc flour was approximately 680 tons; Carney and Rosomoff, *In the Shadow,* 53–55; Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione,* 1, no. 87; Carney and Rosomoff, *In the Shadow,* 108–10.

52. Butler, *Historye,* 285; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 84.

53. Hughes, *Plaine and True*, n.p.

54. Ligon often used a "celebratory" and "collective 'we'"; Carney and Rosomoff, *In the Shadow,* 116–17. See Ligon, *True and Exact History,* 75–76.

55. Butler, *Historye,* 2–3. Several of the plants that Butler mentioned by name had African origins; Carney and Rosomoff, *In the Shadow,* 20–21. Later generations of scholars replicated the assumption of European responsibility for plant transfer in colonial situations; ibid., 176; see also Murphy, "Translating the Vernacular."

56. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 27; Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans,* 216; Robert Rich to Sir Nathaniel Rich, Feb. 22, 1617/18, in Ives, ed., *Rich Papers,* 59.

57. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 156; Shammas, "Domestic Environment," 5–6, 10; Kussmaul, *Servants*, 34–35; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption*, 212–20.

58. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 32, 484n35; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders,* 166; Robinson to Blathwayt, Jun. 6, 1687, 59, 60 (heading quotation). On sleeping nets or hammocks in Bermuda, see also Kopelson, "One Indian and a Negroe," 305–6.

59. Keegan, *Stranger King,* 79; Oviedo, *Historia*, vol. 4; Turner, "Forgotten Treasure," esp. 14–15 (houses); Sturtevant, "First Visual Images," 1:417–54; Brennan, "Visual Images," 1025–48.

60. Van den Broecke, "Description of the Kingdom of Loango," *Journal,* 101; Jobson, *Discovery,* 107. See also Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione,* 1, nos. 65, 69, 72; Balandier, *Daily Life,* 141.

61. Berman, "Good as Gold," 130; Deagan, "Taíno Social Dynamics," 614; Balandier, *Daily Life,* 113; Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione,* 1, nos. 69, 72; Bassani, "I disegni," 57–58.

62. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 32; Robinson to Blathwayt, Jun. 6, 1687, 60.

63. Thornton, "Precolonial African Industry," 11; Pigafetta and Lopes, *Report,* 39–40; Balandier, *Daily,* 115; Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione,* 1, no. 70; Bassani, "I disegni," 42–46.

64. Pigafetta and Lopes, *Report,* 39.

65. Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione,* 1, no. 156.

66. da Zucchelli, *Relazione*, 149, quoted in Thornton, "Precolonial African Industry," 10. Cavazzi described a similar technology; Bassani, "I disegni," 43.

67. Duncan, *Atlantic Islands*, 219–20.

68. Cavazzi described the elegant garments created for the kings and queens from small pieces of fabric "patched" together; *Istorica descrizione,* 1, no. 349. Cavazzi's watercolors contain valuable ethnographic detail if sometimes imaginative colors; see Bassani, "I disegni," 32–87; esp. 47–48.

69. Berman, "Good as Gold," 130; Keegan, *Stranger King,* 61; Deagan, "Taíno Social Dynamics," 614.

70. Balandier, *Daily Life,* 113–15, 225; Duncan, *Atlantic Islands,* 219; Robertson and Klein, "Women's Importance," 10.

71. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 290–92.

72. Hope, "A Description," TNA: PRO CO 37/26, 98r.

73. Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 64–65, 109–10, 120–30; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 385n89.

74. Berman, "Good as Gold," 130.

75. The idea of the physical body as a container or outside shell that masked the inner essence of the person was common, although with slightly different inflections, in West and West Central Africa as well as the Taínoan areas of the Caribbean; see Blier, *African Vodun,* 204; MacGaffey, "Art and Spirituality," 227–31; and Oliver, *Caciques,* 48–52.

76. Blier, *African Vodun,* 244–47; James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares,* 243n45.

77. James H. Sweet, *Recreating,* 179; Thornton, *Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 133–34.

78. Rochefort, *Histoire,* 445–46.

79. Oliver, *Caciques,* 121–22, fig. 22; W. C. Schaffer et al., "Lucayan–Taíno Burials," 57, 59.

80. Roe, "Taíno Shamanism," 141.

81. Oliver, *Caciques,* 52; Oliver, "El universo," 161.

82. Handler, "Middle Passage."

83. MacGaffey, "Art and Spirituality," 240; James H. Sweet, *Recreating,* 105.

84. On the multiple and simultaneous meanings of *local,* depending on—among other things—vantage point and particular historical moments, see Hauser and Curet, "Islands at the Crossroads," 226–29.

2 / "Joyne interchangeably in a laborious bodily service"

1. Roger Williams translated the term *saunks* as "the Queen, or Sachim's wife," often rendered in Algonquian-inflected English as "squaw sachem," but Awashunkes led in her own right; Rubertone, "Monuments," 234; Plane, "Awashunkes"; Grumet, "Sunksquaws"; Richmond and Den Ouden, "Gendered Political Histories."

2. Williams, *Key*, 118–19; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 227–28; Nash, "Antic Deportments," 165. The English minister Roger Williams had sought refuge with the Narragansetts after his relentless questioning of magistrates' actions provoked Massachusetts Bay authorities to exile him from that colony; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 8–13; Stern, "Key," 583. On *A Key* as a source about Narragansett life, see Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, esp. 69–114; Murray, *Indian Giving*, chap. 4; Stern, "Key"; and L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 77. The scholarly interpretation of Algonquian ritual continues to bear the imprint of the folklorist William S. Simmons; see Simmons, "Shamanism"; and Simmons, *Spirit*.

3. Church, *Entertaining History*, 6; Plane, "Awashunkes," 145–46; Rubertone, "Monuments," 234–35. For English suspicions regarding Native dances, see DeLucia, "Sound of Violence."

4. Plane, "Awashunkes," 147–51. On the voluminous historiography of King Philip's War, see chap. 7 of this volume.

5. Williams, *Key*, 119; Nash, "Antic Deportments," 168–69.

6. On material objects as "*products of* and *precedents for* social relations," see Wobst, "Agency," 42. For an Algonquian context, see Bruchac and Hart, "Materiality"; and Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, esp. chaps. 7 and 8.

7. Tweed, *Crossing*, 26. Recent scholarship includes Bruchac and Hart, "Materiality"; DeLucia, "Memory Frontier"; Bruchac et al., eds., *Indigenous Archaeologies*; Gould, "Contested Place"; Rubertone, ed., *Archaeologies of Placemaking*; and Smith and Wobst, eds., *Indigenous Archaeologies*.

8. Shoemaker, *Strange Likeness*, 23–25, 4–8; Boivin, "Grasping the Elusive"; Handsman, "Landscapes"; Bruchac and Hart, "Materiality," 304–5; Loren, "Beyond the Visual," 360–69.

9. The phrase "common pot" comes from L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, esp. 3–5, who drew on the shared dish described in Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon." Brooks's deployment of the common dish as a way of conceiving Native space from a Native perspective has influenced the interpretive framework of this chapter.

10. L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 5. *Ninnimissinuok* is a variation of the Narragansett word *Ninnimissinnûwock*, "people," and is the term Kathleen Bragdon chose to use in her study of the indigenous peoples of southern New England; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, xi. *Wabanaki*, or "dawnland peoples," refers to "the 'Western' Abenakis (of present-day Vermont, New Hampshire, and Southern Quebec) and the 'Eastern' Abenakis (of present-day Maine and the Maritimes), comprised of the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Mi'kmaq, and Maliseet"; L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 259n1.

11. Richter, "Stratification."

12. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 227–29; Simmons, *Spirit*, 45–46.

13. Winslow, *Good News*, 53.

14. Witthoft, "Green Corn Ceremonialism," 6–7; Williams, *Key*, 172; LaFantasie, ed., *Correspondence*, 110–11; Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*, 20–23; Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions*, 72–73; Richmond, "Out of the Earth," 12–13; Richmond, "Ear to the Ground," 24–27.

15. Gookin, "Historical Collections," 153.

16. Williams, *Key*, 19–20. On Indian practices of dreaming, see Plane, "Dreams," 32, 39, 41–42; and Romero, *Making War*, 166–67.

17. Winslow, *Good Newes*, 57, 55; Simmons, *Spirit*, 46; Simmons, *Cautantowwit's House*, 47.

18. Williams, *Key*, 121.

19. Morton, *New English Canaan*, 26 (quotation); Bruchac and Thomas, "Locating 'Wissatinnewag,'" 71–73, 80–82; Bruchac and Hart, "Materiality," 296, 305; Rubertone, "Historical Archaeology."

20. Bruchac and Hart, "Materiality," 298; L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 26, 264n41.

21. Romero, *Making War*, 18, 49–51.

22. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650,* 135–36.

23. Williams, *Key*, 31.

24. Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 68–69; Morton, *New English Canaan*, 57; Williams, *Key*, 16. On the influence of Thomas More's *Utopia* on these accounts, see Teunissen and Hinz, "Narragansett Utopia."

25. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread" (1 Corinthians: 16–17).

26. Eden, *Early American Table*, 47; Romero, *Making War*, 9, 60. On the obligation to reciprocate and the establishment of inequality through exchange; see Mauss, *Gift*; and Strathern, *Gender of the Gift*, esp. 146–56. On gift exchange in a European context, see N. Z. Davis, *Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*.

27. Williams, *Key*, 172; Witthoft, "Green Corn Ceremonialism," 7; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 227; Simmons, *Spirit*, 45–46; Richter, "Stratification," esp. 45–48.

28. Winslow, *Good Newes*, 57.

29. Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 69.

30. Rowlandson, *Soveraignty*, 81, 84–85, 96; Arnold, "Female Misbehavior," 9–11.

31. See, for example, E. Anderson, *Betrayal of Faith*.

32. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 136, 115.

33. Ibid., 185, 199, 195–96; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 128–29.

34. Simmons, *Spirit*, 206, 173, 176–79.

35. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary*, 27, quoted in Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 193.

36. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650,* 192, 196–97; Romero, *Making War*, 28, 139, 163; Hamell, "Mythical Realities"; Seeman, *Death*, 151–53; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 113.

37. Plane, "Dreams," 32–33, 39, 41–42; Williams, *Key*, 19.

38. John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew [1653], quoted in Simmons, 57.

39. Simmons, *Spirit*, 56–57; Nash, "'Antic Deportments,'" 168; Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 40; Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 83; Bloechl, *Native Song*.

40. Mayhew, *Conquests and Triumphs,* 20–21, 17.

41. Rowlandson, *Soveraignty*, 103.

42. Laura Arnold, "Female Misbehavior," 10–12; Josselyn, *Account*, 129; Dunton, *Life*, 160.

43. Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 138–39, 149–50.

44. On the spiritual significance of shells, see Trubitt, "Marine Shell Prestige Goods," 248; Romero, *Making War*, 49, 59–60; Rubertone, *Grave Undertaking*, 111. On wampum circulation, see Becker, "Wampum Use"; Bruchac and Hart, "Materiality," 299, 304; and Bruchac, "Sheldon's Vanishing Indians Act," 37.

45. Nassaney, "Gender Politics," 348–50; Simmons, *Cautantowwit's House*. Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 157, suggested that the "slender iron rods" found with women over forty at the RI-1000 site may have been needles or awls used to sew or string finished beads instead of drills to produce the beads.

46. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England,1500–1650*, 181; L. Brooks, *Common Pot,* 12–13 (quotation); Ceci, "Wampum," 112; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 111.

47. On light symbolism, see Miller and Hamell, "New Perspective," 326; Howey, "Magic of Mimesis," 339; and Hamell, "Trading in Metaphors," 6, 8, 14–15. On the spread and use of European-manufactured copper, see Turgeon, "Tale of the Kettle," 5–9; and Groce, "Ornaments of Metal," 115–17.

48. Loren, "Beyond the Visual," 366; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 147; Seeman, *Death*, 174; I. Brown, "Trade Bells," 94; Simmons, *Cautantowwit's House,* 45–46.

49. Nassaney, "Gender Politics," 347–48.

50. O'Brien, "'Divorced from the Land,'" 158n3; Bennett, "Food Economy"; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 50–52. 1996. On corn specifically, see Bendremer and Dewar, "Prehistoric Maize"; and Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 154.

51. Simmons, *Spirit*, 41. However, women's worse dentition in comparison with that of men indicates that women's complementary status did not extend to equal access to all foodstuffs; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 131, 147, 153.

52. Williams, *Key*, 37.

53. Nassaney, "Gender Politics," 350–53; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, 144; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 156, 150–51; Williams, *Key*, 116.

54. As part of the effort to take each religion on its own terms, I use a modified (with the adjective *Christian*) and capitalized *God* when referring to the Christian deity. This term accords with Christian practice while acknowledging that many seventeenth-century peoples turned to a multitude of other-than-human persons.

55. Mayhew, *Conquests and Triumphs*, 18–19; Romero, *Making War*, 8–9. Not all traditionalists were as welcoming of Christianity; ibid., pt. 3, passim. On "hedge his bets," see Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 62–63.

56. Richter, "Stratification."

57. Pulsipher, *Subjects*; Baker and Reid, "Amerindian Power"; Chmielewski, *Spice of Popery*.

58. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*; Herndon and Sekatau, "Colonizing the Children"; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, 161–66. On Native encounters with European livestock, see V. D. Anderson, *Creatures*. For Indian men's

work tending animals, both their own and English-owned, see Silverman, "We Chuse to Be Bounded," 200–208. On basketry, see McMullen et al., eds., *Language of Woodsplint Baskets*; and Ulrich, *Age of Homespun*, chap. 1.

59. Simmons, *Spirit*, 206.

60. King, "De/Scribing Squ*w."

61. Kittredge, ed., "Letters," 154.

62. Jun. 7, 1726, South Kingstown Town Meeting, 1:13, from Sydney James, "South Kingstown," notecards in file drawers, Rhode Island Historical Society, Mss511; James, *Colonial Metamorphoses*, 159.

63. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, chap. 6; Barsh, "'Colored' Seamen."

64. Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*, 132–33.

65. Fitzgerald, "'I Wunnatuckquannum.'" For broader gendered contests over land after King Philip's War, see Den Ouden, "Colonial Violence"; and O'Brien, *Dispossession*.

66. Fitzgerald, "'I Wunnatuckquannum,'" 159–60. On British writing rituals, see Shoemaker, *Strange Likeness*, 75.

67. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, 181–87; Pearce, "Native Mapping," 163.

68. Bruchac, "Sheldon's Vanishing Indians Act"; O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*; Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History;* Handsman, "Landscapes," 178–86; Rubertone, "Memorializing"; DeLucia, "Memory Frontier."

69. Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 173.

70. Nash, "Antic Deportments," 168; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 228.

3 / "Ye are of one Body and members one of another"

1. These two possibilities are only endpoints on a spectrum. For puritan sacramental theology, the classic scholarship remains Holifield, *Covenant*. See also Davies, *Worship*, 193–98.

2. Hillman and Mazzio, eds., "Introduction: Individual Parts," xi–xii; Bynum, *Fragmentation*.

3. Winthrop was quoting Ephesians 4:16.

4. "Appendix to the Letter; Containing Advice more Practical," in *A Letter from some aged nonconforming ministers*, 59, 65, 62. The *Letter*'s first publication in 1702 did not include the appendix; Increase Mather wrote a preface for a 1712 Boston edition. The full verse of Romans 12:5 is: "So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."

5. C. Mather, *Serviceable man,* 9.

6. Shoemaker, *Strange Likeness*, 127.

7. Finch, *Dissenting Bodies,* 148–49; Benes, *Meetinghouses*, 62–69, 111–13, 29, 378n2.

8. I borrow the term "theology of the body" from Martha Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, xii.

9. The ritual meal of the Lord's Supper recurred throughout a lifetime, ideally at regular intervals. In New England churches, it typically occurred every four to six weeks; Holifield, *Covenant*, 160; Davies, *Worship*, 186; Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 156–58. The frequency in any given church in Bermuda was more irregular since ministers were in short supply; Hallett, *Chronicle*, 66–121.

10. Peterson, "Reflections"; Sally Promey, "Seeing the Self," *Material Religion* 1, no. 1 (2005): 10–47; McLean Ward, "In a Feasting Posture"; Kibbey, *Interpretation of Material*, 49–61.

11. On Jamestown, see Eden, *Early American Table*, 51–58. For Plymouth, see Eden, *Early American Table*, 77–81; Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 86–87; and Romero, *Making War*, 37–39.

12. Holifield, *Covenant*, 160; Gura, *Glimpse of Sion's Glory*, 130–32; Davies, *Worship*, 186–90; Lechford, *Plain Dealing,* 16–17, Benes, *Meetinghouses*, 13, 114–15; Mayor, *Lord's Supper*, 86–90, quoting Cotton, *Way of the Churches of Christ*, 67ff.

13. Bermudians used the Genevan liturgy used in the Island of Guernsey and Jersey; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 1:678–83; Hallett, *Chronicle*, 21–24.

14. McLean Ward, "In a Feasting Posture," 12–20, quoting Sewall, Dec. 6, 1724, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 2: 1023; Peterson, "Reflections," esp. 323–25, 341–43, 338; Benes and Zimmerman, *New England Meeting House and Church*, 95.

15. Ward, "In a Feasting Posture," 13. Anabaptists, as their opponents referred to them, required candidates for baptism to be old enough to consent for themselves. Only those judged worthy of participating were allowed to worship communally, so the entire congregation stayed for the Lord's Supper.

16. Not every church fit into these broad patterns, which are generally suggestive rather than comprehensive. Inscriptions bearing the names of the donors counteracted the egalitarian trend of matched vessels; Ward, "In a Feasting Posture,"14–22; Benes and Zimmerman, *New England Meeting House*, 83–95; Peterson, "Reflections," 320.

17. Ward, "In a Feasting Posture," 20n37. On Bermudian silver, see Hallett, *Chronicle*, 287–89.

18. Hallett, *Chronicle*, 270–71.

19. Will of Roger Wood, Mar. 31, 1654, BW, 1:29; inventory of Roger Wood's estate, May 1654, BW, 1:23; see also Lefroy, *Memorials*, 1:531–43; and Hallett, *Chronicle*, 288. For examples of beakers, see Benes and Zimmerman, *New England Meeting House*, 86–93; and Ward, 15.

20. Peterson, "Reflections," 320.

21. John 6:51, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven"; Edward Taylor, Preparatory Meditations, 1st ser., no. 8, 18–19.

22. Figueroa, "Staff of Life," 302–3; Eden, *Early American Table*, 24–28; LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy*, 62; for estimate, see Stavely and Fitzgerald, *America's Founding Food*, 10–11, 239, 234–37.

23. Willard, *Some brief sacramental meditations*, 12 ("*Living Bread*"); Taylor, Preparatory Meditations, 1st ser., no. 8, 18–19 ("Purest Wheate"); Figueroa, "Staff of Life," 303.

24. Figueroa, "Staff of Life," 307–9; LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy*, 56. See chapter 2 of this volume for a discussion of corn among southern Algonquians.

25. McMahon, "Comfortable Subsistence," 31–32, 42, 52–54, 60. Black stem rust resulted in empty or shriveled ears, negating the higher overall wheat yields gained by a switch to spring-sown varieties in the 1640s; ibid., 32–33.

26. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 19, 32; Hughes, *Plaine and true relation*, B2rv.

27. Francesco Bressani, "Breve Relatione," Thwaites, ed. *Jesuit Relations*, 39:46, 48, and El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, [1605] 1951, 382, quoted in Figueroa, "Staff of Life,"

304; ibid., 309–12; Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 64–83; LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy*, 56–57, 60–62; Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 149–51. Eden, *Early American Table*, 58–60, 73, argued that Jamestown colonists starved because they viewed maize as a polluting food and did not want to eat it.

28. Apr. 2, 1693, *Sermon Notebook of Samuel Parris*, 234–35. On Parris's divisiveness and his role in the Salem witchcraft trials, see J. F. Cooper and Minkema's introduction to *Sermon Notebook*, 1–36. On the causes of the divisions, cf. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*; Karlsen, *Devil*; Norton, *Devil's Snare*; and Rivett, *Science*, chap. 5.

29. McMahon, "Comfortable Subsistence," 33; Taylor, Preparatory Meditations, 1st ser., no. 8, 18–19; Hughes, *Plaine and true relation*, B2rv.

30. Peterson, "Reflections," esp. 336–46; Bushman, *Refinement*.

31. Leslie and Raylor, eds., *Culture and Cultivation*, esp. Michael Leslie's essay, "Spiritual Husbandry," 151–72. See, for example, Flavell, *Husbandry Spiritualized*, esp. 165–66; Cotton, *God's Promise*, 5; and I. Mather, *Meditations*, 18. On the English belief that unfenced land and fields with mixed crops were "empty" and there for the taking, see, among many, Cronon, *Changes*; Kolodny, *Lay of the Land*; and Seed, "Taking Possession."

32. Perry Miller's depiction of puritan attempts to deny their physical bodies still casts a long shadow over popular perceptions, but scholarship has long established their integration of material and spiritual arenas (see, for example, Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution*, chaps. 2–3; Peterson, "Reflections"; and Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, esp. 4–10).

33. C. Mather, *Ratio disciplinae*, 128 (quotation), 130–31. Even in long-established settlements in England with professional bakers, women in individual households still produced the majority of bread. In English settlements in New England, women in households without ovens baked their bread in neighbors' ovens; Clark, *Working Life of Women*, 210–11; Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 20–21.

34. Parish and vestry minutes, Mar. 31, 1711, St. George's Parish, BA, ANG/SG/PV1, 12; Parish and vestry minutes, Apr. 4, 1716, St. George's Parish, ANG/SG/PV2, BA, 18. Church records survive only in fragments for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

35. On the barter economy in English settlements, see Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 26–27; and *A Midwife's Tale*, chap. 2. Although the latter details late eighteenth-century Maine, the general structure of gender-based activities in the family-based economy was similar to that of mid-seventeenth-century southern New England.

36. Winthrop Jr., "On Indian Corn," in Mood, "John Winthrop, Jr.," 130; Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 210. For one-third of Plymouth's seventy-year existence, the colony lacked a minister to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and so there was no bread baked for that ritual; Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 156.

37. Winthrop Jr., "On Indian Corn," in Mood, "John Winthrop, Jr.," 130; Stavely and Fitzgerald, *America's Founding Food*, 239; Cohen, *Colonial Virginia Cookery*, 71–72; Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 20–21. Fireplace ovens became widespread in New England starting in 1650; earlier ovens were built separately in dooryards. Some of these separate ovens were present around the same time in Bermuda; see, for example, Mar. 28, 1666, BCR 5B, pt. 1: 42v.

38. Richard Ligon was unable to produce cassava bread that did not crack into pieces until an "*Indian* woman" showed him the proper technique (*True and Exact History*, ed. Kupperman, 75). For a modern comparison of the chemical and sensory attributes of bread made from cassava and wheat flours, see Pasqualone et al. "Gluten-Free Bread Making Trials."

39. For a cogent summary of the connection between outward actions and inward state, see Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 4–10, 47–48. On preparation, see n. 63 below.

40. Figueroa, "Staff of Life," 314. Following the Pequot War of 1637, the English exacted wampum tribute from bands along Long Island Sound and through the Connecticut River Valley that had been subsidiary to the Pequot; Lipman, "A Meanes to Knitt them Togeather," 16, 28.

41. C. Mather, *Ratio disciplinae,* 102; Hughes, *Plaine and True Relation*, E2v.

42. Willard, *Brief sacramental meditations*, 10, 12–13; Mindele Black, "Edward Taylor: Heavens Sugar Cake," *New England Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1956): 169; Parris, *Sermon Notebook*, 235.

43. On the "raw experiential knowledge" of the human body, see Shoemaker, *Strange Likeness*, 3–5.

44. "Appendix to the Letter; Containing Advice more Practical," 60; Shoemaker, *Strange Likeness*, 126.

45. John Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.12.1; S. M. Johnson, "Sinews."

46. Holifield, *Covenant Sealed*, 193–94.

47. Winthrop, "Christian Charity," 288–89; Ziegler, "Skin and Character," 529–30.

48. Winthrop, "Christian Charity," 288–89, 292.

49. Cotton, *A treatise I. Of faith*. 13.

50. St. George, *Conversing*, 151.

51. Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*. On the French colonial context, see Roach, "Body of Law."

52. St. George, *Conversing*, 151; Hale, *Body Politic*; J. G. Harris, *Foreign Bodies*.

53. Knoppers, "Antichrist, the Babilon"; Cressy, "Lamentable"; St. George, *Conversing*, 151.

54. Monod, *Power of Kings*.

55. Stanwood, *Empire Reformed*, esp. 20, 97, 143–46.

56. Howgill, *Heart*, 30.

57. Rivett, *Science*, 118; Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandize*, 85–86; Peterson, *Price*; L. Breen, *Transgressing the Bounds*; Bremer, *Congregational Communion*; Holifield, *Covenant Sealed*; Pope, *Half-way Covenant*; A. S. Brown and Hall, "Family Strategies"; J. F. Cooper, *Tenacious*, chap. 7; Gerbner, "Beyond the 'Halfway Covenant.'"

58. Young, "Breathing the 'Free Aire.'"

59. McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*; Holifield, *Covenant Sealed*, 143–59, 155 (quotation from Walker, *Creeds and Platforms*, 224). On baptists, see Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists*; Lindman, *Bodies of Belief*.

60. Holifield, *Covenant Sealed*, 169–86.

61. Allin, *Animadversions*, 30, referencing 1 Corinthians 12:12–13 and Galatians 3:27–28.

62. Shepard, *Church membership of children*, n.p.; Holifield, *Covenant Sealed*, 153n55, 157–58; McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*. On Roger Williams's encrypted entry into

the debate over infant baptism and what spiritual inheritance children might receive from their parents, see Fisher, Lemons, and Mason-Brown, *Decoding Roger Williams*.

63. As Calvinists, puritans believed that salvation could come only from God's free gift of grace and could not be compelled through any human actions or "works." However, many still emphasized the need for individual preparation to receive that grace and to recognize it when given; Pettit, *Heart Prepared*. Techniques to collect and discern that evidence of grace was a focus of what Sarah Rivett calls the "science of the soul"; Rivett, *Science*. There were some well-known outliers such as Solomon Stoddard who held that the Lord's Supper could be a "converting ordinance" and that the very experience of participation would create a connection to the divine; Holifield, *Covenant Sealed*, 216–19. For a recent overview of Stoddard's influence and often controversial practices, see Kidd, *Great Awakening*, 6–10.

64. Cotton Mather, "Nathaniel Gookin, Sermon," Notes on Sermons, 1686, HM 15212, Mather File, The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. On Mather's and Gookin's parentage, see Sibley, *Sibley's*, 3:6; 2:474.

65. Sibley, *Sibley's*, 2:474–76; L. Breen, *Transgressing the Bounds*, 146–51; Romero, *Making War*, 194–95.

66. The significance of body parts in English discourse was not limited to conflicts between the body politic and the body of Christ; see Hillman and Mazzio, *Body in Parts*. Sometimes the body parts were all too corporeal; see Lipman, "A Meanes to Knitt Them Togeather."

Part II / Performing

1. Blier, *African Vodun*, 204; Thornton, "Naming Patterns."

2. Smallwood, *Saltwater*, esp. chap. 6.

3. If an owner in Virginia gave Adam that appellation, it would not have been Saffin, who lived there much earlier than Adam's probable birth year; Goodall, "John Saffin," 85n4.

4. Judgment, May 8, 1703, Records of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1700–1714, f. 100, cited in Goodall, "John Saffin," 95. On the extensive presence of enslaved Africans in seventeenth-century New England, see Warren, "Enslaved Africans"; Adams and Pleck, *Love of Freedom*; and Clark-Pujara, "Slavery, Emancipation, and Black Freedom."

5. Goodall, "John Saffin," 102, 104, 108.

6. Thomas Newton, Petition to the Superior Court for Suffolk County, May 8, 1703; Appeal to the Court of Assize for Suffolk County, Oct. 1703, quoted ibid., 94–95, 98.

7. Ibid., 102. The recordkeepers may have assigned Adam his master's surname, but he consistently appeared as "Adam Saffin"; see chap. 4, n. 2. Scholars disagree on whether or not Adam was the unnamed slave referenced in Sewall's diary; see David Brion Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 344n27.

8. John Saffin, Indenture of Adam, Jun. 26, 1694, in Goodall, "John Saffin," 88.

9. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 57.

10. John W. Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 58–64, is an exception. For the more typical approach, see Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*, 118–19; Peterson, "Selling," 1–2; Whitford, "Curse of Ham," 31–32; and Warren, "Enslaved Africans," 232–66.

11. Goodall, "John Saffin," 93; Joshua Finney deposition, Apr. 9, 1701, cited in Goodall, "John Saffin," 108.

12. Towner, "Saffin-Sewall Debate," 43–44; Sewall, *Selling*, 2–3.

13. John Saffin, "*Brief and Candid Answer*," in Moore, ed., *Notes*, 254, 252.

14. Goodall, "John Saffin," 108.

15. On the "performance paradigm," see Mielke, introduction to Mielke and Bellin, eds., *Native Acts*, 6; and Bellin, "Place of Performance." See also Gustafson, *Eloquence Is Power*; Roach, *Cities*; and Waldstreicher, *Perpetual Fetes*.

4 / "Extravasat Blood"

1. Goodall, "John Saffin," 104; John Griffin deposition, Oct. 9, 1701, in Goodall, "John Saffin," 112.

2. John Shine, John Griffin, and William Lee, joint deposition, Oct. 13 1701, in Goodall, "John Saffin," 113–14n1; Saffin, *Brief and Candid Answer*, in Goodall, "John Saffin," 105. On the mustering of free Africans to repair public ways, see *Boston Record Commissioners' Report*, vol. 11, Selectmen's Records, 1701–1715, 73, 115, 137–38, 166, 210 (quotation), 232.

3. Shurtleff, ed., *Mass. Recs*, 3:268, 397; T. H. Breen, "English Origins," 91.

4. Lefroy, *Memorials*, 1:365–67; Hope, "A Description of Bermuda."

5. Warren, "Enslaved Africans," 2, 4, chap. 3.

6. Peterson, "Selling," 5–7; Jenny Hale Pulsipher, "Dark Cloud"; Baker and Reid, "Amerindian Power"; Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*; Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars."

7. Warren, "Enslaved Africans," chap. 1, 235–36; Peterson, "Selling," 2–6; Silverman, *Red Brethren*, chap. 1. On the changes in puritanism, see Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandize*.

8. Sewall, *Selling of Joseph,* 2; Towner, "Sewall-Saffin Dialogue," 43; Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*, 118; Peterson, "Selling," 1, 8.

9. Saffin, *Brief and Candid Answer*, in Moore, ed., *Notes*, 252–53; Towner, "Sewall-Saffin Dialogue," 48; Plane *Colonial Intimacies*, 119.

10. John Saffin, Petition to Joseph Dudley, May 26, 1703, cited in Goodall, "John Saffin," 96–97. Saffin lost his first wife, Martha Willett, and two children to the smallpox epidemic of 1678 (ibid., 86). On southern Algonquians' strategic claim of subjecthood to the monarch during King Philip's War, see Pulsipher, *Subjects*.

11. Eden, *Early American Table*, chap. 1. On gender and the humoral body, see Laqueur, *Making Sex*; Schiebinger, *Nature's Body*; Paster, *Body Embarrassed*; and Kodera, *Disreputable Bodies*.

12. Ziegler, "Skin and Character," 533–34; Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, 23–25; K. F. Hall, *Things of Darkness*. See also Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity*, which contests Winthrop Jordan's "ahistorical" characterization of an initial sight of blackness as always surprising to whites in Jordan, *White over Black* (190 n28).

13. Schmidgen, *Exquisite Mixture*, 37, 50–52.

14. Schiesari, "Face of Domestication," 57–64. See also della Porta, *Della fisionomia dell'uomo*, 9v; Magli, *Il volto e l'anima*.

15. For a detailed account of what historians came to call the antinomian crisis, see Winship, *Making Heretics*. On monstrous and prodigious births in medieval and early modern Europe, see Daston and Park, *Wonders*. See also J. Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism*; Schutte, "Such Monstrous Births"; and Ulrich, "Winthrop's City of Women."

16. Cressy, "Lamentable."

17. Woodward, *Prospero's America*, 18–23.

18. Porter, *Windows*, xii–x; Torrey, "Plain Devil."

19. Schiesari, "Face of Domestication," 57–58; Eden, *Early American Table*, 11–16.

20. Downame, *Guide to Godlynesse*, 410, Porter, *Windows*, 15–16, 18; Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*.

21. Rivett, *Science*.

22. Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 91; Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 260–61, quoting Wood, *New England's Prospect* ("lustie") and Josselyn, *Two Voyages* ("strong," "straight bodied").

23. Woodward, *Prospero's America*, 163–82.

24. Stiles, *History*, 109; Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 270–71. For a more exceptionalist interpretation, see Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 43; and Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 185, 183.

25. Shoemaker, *Strange Likeness*; Silverman, *Red Brethren*.

26. Cf. Joyce Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 180, 187; and Woodward, *Prospero's America*, 105. For Christian alchemy, see ibid., chap. 1; on alchemical healing in New England, see ibid., chap. 6.

27. Sewall, *Selling*, 1. The quotation is from Acts 17:26.

28. Kidd, *Forging*, chap. 3; Goetz, *Baptism*, 21.

29. Letter to Thomas Prince, Jun. 16, 1723, C. Mather, "Diary," 8:686–7; C. Mather, *India Christiana*, 47; Warren, "Enslaved Africans," 242, 247, 265. See chap. 9 of this volume for a fuller discussion of this sermon.

30. Morgan, "Some Could Suckle," esp. 180–84, citing de Marees, "Description," in Purchas, ed. *Hakluytus Posthumus,* 6:259 (Morgan 184).

31. Dunton, *Life*, 183–84. On European stereotypes of Native women as drudges, a classic essay is Smits, "Squaw Drudge." For differences in the gendered division of labor among Natives and English, see K. Brown, *Good Wives*, 57–59; and Kupperman, *Indians and English*, 148–49.

32. Morgan, "Some Could Suckle," 171, 184–86, 189–90; Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 263–64.

33. Braude, "Cham Et Noé; Braude, "Michelangelo and the Curse of Ham"; Braude, "Sons of Noah"; Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*; Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, 19–24, 29–33, chap. 6.

34. Braude, "Black Skin/White Skin," 11–13, 17–21.

35. Goetz, *Baptism*, 27; Mazzolini, "'Greater Division,'" 583–93; A. T. Vaughan and Vaughan, "England's 'Others,'" 42–43; van der Lugt, "La peau noire," 464–65; Whitford, "Curse of Ham."

36. Boose, "'Getting of a Lawful Race,'" 42–44; Best, *True Discourse*, 31, cited in Goetz, *Baptism*, 27–28.

37. Morgan, "Some Could Suckle" 182, citing Jobson, *Golden Trade*, 58; Jordan, *White over Black*, 39–40; Goetz, *Baptism*, 28.

38. Sandys, *Relation*, 136; Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, 149–50.

39. Boyle, *Experiments*, 159–60 (quotations); Mazzolini, "Greater Division," 598; Goetz, *Baptism*, 140–42.

40. Whitford, "Curse of Ham," 29–32.

41. Sewall, *Selling*, 2; Towner, "Sewall-Saffin Dialogue," 43.

42. Saffin, "Brief and Candid Answer," 254; Whitford, "'Curse of Ham,'" 32.

43. C. Mather, *Good Master*, 54; C. Mather, *Negro Christianized*, 2–3, 24–25, 6.

44. Heydon, John, Proclamation, Jan. 30, 1673/4, Dec. 24 1673, Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:391–92, 389; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 278–79, with a brief mention of Heydon's statement, "Cain is markt," 279 n51.

45. For the significance of the physical mark of the king on enslaved people in the French context, see Roach, "Body of Law."

46. For the pairings of enslaved and master, see Jarvis, "In the Eye," 279n51.

47. Muldoon, "Spiritual Freedom"; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*. See also chapters 7 and 8 of this volume. For Natives and Africans in Virginia who made similar arguments, see Goetz, *Baptism*, 92–104, 138–39. On Native and African missionaries, see Andrews, *Native Apostles*.

48. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, white slave owners and ministers read this verse as an endorsement of slavery; Frey and Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion*.

49. Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*; Beasley, *Christian Ritual*; Goetz, *Baptism*, chap. 4; Whitford, "Curse of Ham," 39–40. On the Council of Dort (1618) in the Dutch Reformed Church that left the decision of baptizing slaves up to the local ministers and also allowed ministers to own slaves, see Hodges, *Root and Branch*; and Berlin, "Creole to African," 270.

50. Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:293–94; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 271–72.

51. "Memorial . . . by many Ministers of the Gospel," May 30, 1694, *Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, 7:537. The six were Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, and New Jersey; Jernegan, "Slavery and Conversion," 506–7, 513–14.

52. Herndon and Sekatau, "Pauper Apprenticeship"; Newell, "Indian Slavery."

53. Little, *Abraham in Arms*; Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, esp. 8–9; C. Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 76–79; Bossy, "Indian Slavery," 209.

54. C. Mather, *Negro Christianized*, 25.

55. Bermudian slaveholdings were also small; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 115.

56. Cotton Mather to Sir William Ashurst, Mar. 5, 1715/6, in Silverman, ed., *Selected Letters*, 204–5.

57. Oct. 1718, C. Mather, "Diary," 8:563; Peterson, "Selling," 10.

58. Demos, *A Little Commonwealth*; Plane, *Colonial Intimacies,* 119.

59. C. Mather, *Rules*. See also Peterson, "Selling," 19n33–34.

60. See, for example, Warren, "Enslaved Africans," 244.

61. Evelyn Hammonds described this "distorting and productive" effect of the hidden on the visible as a "black (w)hole." She wrote in reference to black female sexualities, but the approach works for studying the barely mentioned practices of African Christians; Hammonds, "Black (W)holes." On the "hidden transcript," see Scott, *Domination*.

62. Greenblatt, "Mutilation and Meaning."

5 / "Makinge a tumult in the congregation"

1. Dec. 16, 1672, BCR 5B, pt. 2, 116r; Jan. 9, 1672/3, ibid., 116v.

2. Besse, *Sufferings*, 2:368. Using biblical types to interpret contemporary events was a common practice among seventeenth-century English puritans on both sides of

the Atlantic. For the most recent treatment of Protestant typology focused on Mordecai, see Householder, "American Mordecai." Classics include T. Davis, "Traditions"; Smolenski, "*Israel Redivivus*"; Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*.

3. Myles, "Monster to Martyr"; Weimer, *Martyrs' Mirror*, 98–100. Dyer's letter circulated as part of Burrough, *Declaration*, 25–27, so it is more than likely that Carter had read or at least knew of the text. Reformed Protestants tended to frame themselves as the national hero Mordecai and the Catholic Church as the scheming Haman; Householder, "American Mordecai," 422–25; Horowitz, *Reckless Rites*, 71–72.

4. Feb. 3, 1672/3, BCR 5B, pt. 2, 116v; Jan. 30, 1672/3, BCR 5A Calendar, 161v; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:374–78; Besse, *Sufferings*, 2:368–9; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 264.

5. On "celestial inhabitation," see Richard G. Bailey, *New Light*, esp. 77–89.

6. Mack, *Visionary Women*; Tarter, "Quaking in the Light." For female traveling ministers in the eighteenth century, see Larson, *Daughters of Light*.

7. Worrall, "Persecution"; Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast*; Miller, "A Suffering People"; Andrew Murphy, *Conscience and Community*; Sowerby, "Of Different Complexions."

8. On Quaker networks, see Tolles, *Quakers*; and Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia*. On religion and tolerance in British and Dutch early America, see Haefeli, *New Netherland*; and Beneke and Grenda, eds., *First Prejudice*. For responses by the Society of Friends to legal restrictions, see Tolles, *Quakers*, 30; Greaves, "Seditious Sectaries"; and Richard G. Bailey, *New Light,* 266–67.

9. See, for example, Rosenberg, "Thomas Tryon."

10. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 271–72.

11. Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists*.

12. Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few*, chap. 4.

13. Davies, *Worship of the American Puritans,* 188–89; Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few*, 128.

14. Davies, *Worship of the American Puritans*, 288.

15. K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*.

16. Gordis, *Opening Scripture*, 45–49.

17. Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few*, 127–28.

18. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast*, 91; Bloechl, *Native American Song*, chap. 4; Frost, *Quaker Family*, 36–37; Samson Bond, *A publick tryal*, 37; Faldo, *Quakerism no Christianity*, epistle to readers, n.p.

19. Rath, *How Early America Sounded*, 126–27; Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few*, 147.

20. Livingstone, *Plain and Downright Dealing*, 10, cited in Richard G. Bailey, *New Light*, 284n20.

21. Toldervy, *Foot out of the Snare*, 15–34.

22. Toldervy, Letter to the Reader, *Foot out of the Snare*, n.p.

23. Fox, *Man Christ Jesus*, 25. Fox cites Ephesians 5, which contains the verse, "For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones" (Ephesians 5:30), although the repetition of the words is closer to Genesis 2:23, "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh."

24. For "inhabitation" and "celestial flesh," see Richard G. Bailey, *New Light,* esp. 77–89, 239; and Hinds, *George Fox*, 72.

25. Fox, *Great Mystery*, 322; Hinds, *George Fox*, 17–18, 4–5; Richard G. Bailey, *New Light*, 84–85; Richard G. Bailey, "Muggletonian-Quaker Debates."

26. Hinds, *George Fox*, 17–18; Richard G. Bailey, *New Light*, 223–41; Plane, "Indian and English Dreams"; Tarter, "Quaking in the Light," 147–48. See, for example, Gerona, *Night Journeys*, 54–56. In the 1670s, Fox continued to assert celestial inhabitation and experienced four times more visions and miracles than in the 1660s; Richard G. Bailey, *New Light*, 268, 195.

27. Fox, *Something in answer to . . . the hidden things brought to light,* 25, cited in Kesselring, "Quaker Universalism," 308–11.

28. MS 344 (John Penington MS 4), Friends' Library, 59, 111, cited in Kesselring, "Quaker Universalism," 314.

29. Kesselring, "Quaker Universalism," 312; Mack, *Visionary Women*, esp. 285, 292; Hobby, "Handmaids," 91; Ingle, "A Quaker Woman on Women's Roles: Mary Penington to Friends, 1678," *Signs* 16 (1991): 593.

30. For the earlier puritan-Quaker pamphlet wars, see Tarter, "Quaking in the Light," 151–53.

31. Williams, *George Fox Digg'd*, 7. Although the debate took place in 1672, Williams did not publish his tract until 1676. On this timing, see Worrall, "Persecution"; and Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast*, 31–41. See LaFantasie, *Correspondence*, 649–53, for a detailed explication of the charges Williams addressed to Fox.

32. Williams, *George Fox Digg'd*, 4–5, 35, 7, 43–45, "To the People Called Quakers," n.p., 13.

33. Williams, *Key*, 121; Stern, "*Bloudy Tenent*," 591–616; Seeman, *Death*, 153–62.

34. On Williams's decreasing sympathy for Native cultures and practices, see Fisher and Mason-Brown, "By Treachery and Seduction," esp. n. 98. For Williams's reaction to the Narragansett attack, see Seeman, *Death*, 178; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 16; LaFantasie, *Correspondence*, xliii–xliv.

35. Roger Williams, "Considerations Presented, Touching Rates," Jan. 15, 1681, *Providence Town Records* 15: 219 (item 0326).

36. Fisher and Mason-Brown, "By Treachery and Seduction," esp. n. 105.

37. Bond, *Publick Tryal*, 6, 48–49, 83–84, 64, 46–47. On Bond's contentious history, see Ford, "Rev. Samson Bond of Bermuda." On Francis Estlake's repudiation of Bond's account, see Estlake, *A Bermudas Preacher*; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 265–66; and Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 286.

38. Hinds, *George Fox*, 17–18.

39. Miller, "A Suffering People"; Besse, *Sufferings*; Pestana, "Martyred," esp. 183, 187; Weimer, *Martyrs' Mirror*, chap. 5.

40. Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace*, traces the irregular development of the peace testimony. Cf. Gerbner, "Ultimate Sin," 58, on Quakers as "inflexible pacifists." On fears of military weakness, see, most recently, K. Block, *Ordinary Lives*, 167–68.

41. Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting Minutes and Sufferings, unpag., New England Yearly Meeting Archives, Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, 14 3M 1698. This incident took place in Swansea, but Chase also refused to train in 1688 and 1691 when he lived in Yarmouth.

42. Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace*, 230; Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony.*

43. Sept. 6, 1660, BCR 3, pt. 2:178r; Lefroy, *Memorials,* 2:137.

44. May 22, 1673, BCR 5B, pt. 2:119v–120v. See also Jun. 11–13, 1677, BCR 7:16v. Meeting records do not survive, but Quakers remained an active presence in Bermuda at least through the early eighteenth century (see Jarvis, *In the Eye*,

303–4; Jarvis, "In the Eye," chap. 4; and Hallett, *Chronicle*, 96–105). There was enough of a Quaker meeting to furnish Patience Bullock with a certificate of clearness stating that she was free to marry; Naylor, ed., *"A People Called Quakers,"* 97.

45. Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting Minutes and Sufferings, unpag.

46. For a similar process in England, see Bell, "Early Quakers." On non-Quaker English masculinity, see Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*; Lombard, *Making Manhood*; L. Wilson, *Ye Heart of a Man;* Foster, *Sex and the Eighteenth-Century Man*; Lindman, *Bodies of Belief,* 156–178; and Foster, ed., *New Men*.

47. On Quakers' political use of their persecution in New England, see Pestana, "Quaker Executions."

48. Pinder, *Loving Invitation,* 6, 11, 9; Hinds, *George Fox*, 140–41.

49. Frost, "Fox's Ambiguous Anti-Slavery Legacy."

50. Abruzzo, *Polemical Pain,* chap. 1; Gerbner, "Antislavery in Print." On slave ownership, see, for example, Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting Minutes and Sufferings, unpag., and Sandwich Monthly Meeting Disciplines, 331, 203, Archives of the Society of Friends for New England, Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.

51. K. Block, "Cultivating Inner and Outer Plantations."

52. Fox, "To Friends Beyond Sea, That Have Blacks and Indian Slaves" (1657), in Fox, *Select and Christian Epistles*, 117. On Fox's and other leading Quakers' position on slavery, see Frost, "Fox's Ambiguous Anti-Slavery Legacy."

53. George Fox, "For the Governour [of Barbados], and His Council & Assembly," in Fox, *To the Ministers*, 69; Edmundson, *Journal,* 75; Hinds, *George Fox*, 139–41.

54. Abruzzo, *Polemical Pain*, 21–23.

55. Hinds, *George Fox*, 142, citing Fox, *Gospel Family-Order*, 12; K. Block, "Cultivating Inner and Outer Plantations," 524.

56. Hinds, *George Fox*, 143, citing Fox, *Gospel Family-Order*, 16.

57. Ibid., 141, using Susan Wiseman's term "marginal counters" (see Wiseman, "Read Within," 164). On concepts of commerce in discussions of guiding the enslaved to convincement, the Quaker term for conversion, see Hinds, *George Fox*, 137–42; and K. Block, *Ordinary Lives*, 181–82.

58. Frost, "Fox's Ambiguous Anti-Slavery Legacy," 70; Hinds, *George Fox*, 143; Abruzzo, *Polemical Pain*, 25.

59. Edmundson, *Journal*, 71.

60. London Morning Meeting Minutes, I: ix (1679); cited in Lloyd, *Quaker Social History,* 70.

61. Besse, *Sufferings*, 2:349.

62. Hinds, *George Fox,* 122–23, 128–34.

63. Edmundson, *Journal*, 70–71.

64. Hinds, *George Fox*, 143.

65. Edmundson to Friends in Ireland, Dated the Eighth of the First Month, 1675, *Journal*, 297, 70.

66. Pinder, *Spirit of Error*; Mar. 26, 1660, BCR 2, pt. 2:173r.

67. Bond, *A publick tryal*.

68. K. Block, *Ordinary Lives*, 149–80.

69. 1704 will and 1706 inventory of William Wilkinson, BW 3, pt. 1:216–17, BW 3, pt. 2:154–56.

70. Wilkinson was listed as a shoemaker in a 1673 bond (Hallett, *Civil Records*, 3:53).

71. Patel, *Chronology*, 26.

72. Abraham Adderly, 1688 will and 1689/90 inventory, BW 3, pt. 1:85–89, 107–12; 1656/7 passenger list, Lefroy, *Memorials*, 1:718; Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 246–47, 261n58; William Wilkinson, inventory, Oct. 21, 1706, BW 3, pt. 2:154–56. Abraham, Senr. had died by April 1673 (Hallett, *Civil Records*, 3:53). Cf. Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 173. On the Bermudian migration to Jamaica, see also Jarvis, "In the Eye," 207–8.

73. See, for example, conveyance between William and Parnell Wilkinson, Oct. 26, 1668, Hallett, 3:142, as well as the 1673 bond above. The appraisers of the Adderly and Wilkinson estates each listed "An Indian woman called Bashanah" and assigned her the same value of £18. The connections between the families, the unusual name, and the identical value given to her are strong suggestions that the inventories described the same woman.

74. Gomez, "Muslims in Early America," 677; Abraham Adderly, deposition, Oct. 11, 1665, Hallett, *Civil Records*, 1:588; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 223–31, 203–4.

75. Assizes, Jun. 18, 1667, BCR 5B, pt. 1:49r; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:249–50.

76. Taylor, *Archive*; Hinds, *George Fox*, chap. 4, esp. 89–90.

77. Cf. the otherwise nuanced K. Block, "Cultivating Inner and Outer Plantations."

78. Hinds, *George Fox*, 28; Mack, *Visionary Women*, 249–50, Moore, *Light in Their Consciences,* 92; J. Brown, *Quakerism,* 419–20. On Williams's extended comparison of Quakers and Catholics, see LaFantasie, *Correspondence*, 651n13.

6 / "Those bloody people who did use most horrible crueltie"

1. Proclamation, Oct. 17, 1661, BCR 5B, pt.1:5rv.

2. Stanwood, *Empire*, 60–62; Shagan, "Constructing Discord."

3. Most English used the derogatory term "Irish Catholic" to include Gaelic Irish as well as the "Old" English Catholics who had settled in Ireland after the Norman Conquest. It was somewhat, although not entirely, redundant as the great majority of the Irish who (willingly or unwillingly) came to the Americas were Catholic (Shaw and Block, "Subjects," 36).

4. Games, "Beyond the Atlantic"; Shaw and Block, "Subjects," 49; Beckles, "Riotous and Unruly"; Akenson, *If the Irish*; Shaw, *Everyday Life*, chap. 1.

5. On general ideas about corruption and infection of the social body, see K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*. For a brief history of antipopery in England, see Lake, "Anti-Popery." See also Chmielewski, *Spice of Popery*, on the close contact between English settlers and Christian "others" in what the English claimed as the province of Maine.

6. Johnston, "Papists," 22–64. Her category of "indigenous Catholics" is largely undifferentiated. For the percentages, see 24n4, 38, 45–46.

7. See, for example, Norton, *Devil's Snare*, 38–40. Cotton Mather wrote about Goody Glover in *Memorable Providences*; *Magnalia*; and a manuscript unpublished in his time and annotated by Robert Calef, "Thoughts," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* 47 (1913–14): 264–65.

8. Johnston, "Papists," 53–54, 137–41. On the marginal status of most accused witches, see Karlsen, *Devil*. For witchcraft prosecutions in North America, Bermuda, and Europe, see Games, *Witchcraft*; and Crane, *Witches*, chap. 1.

9. Johnston, "Papists," chap. 5, using Bruce Steiner's phrase "practical toleration" (Steiner, "Catholic Brents"). See also Shaw, *Everyday Life*.

10. Shaw, *Everyday Life*, 30–33; Gillespie, *Devoted People*, 54; Stanwood, *Empire*, 62; Shagan, "Constructing Discord."

11. Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 248–49, 272–73, 296nn27–28; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 90–91; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 253–54; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 1:670, 2:81.

12. Rivers and Foyle published their petition, along with other letters written by royalists in similar situations, as *England's Slavery or Barbados Merchandize* (London, 1659). The discussion of their petition and the Parliamentary debate is drawn from Shaw, *Everyday Life*, 18–26. On the petition, see also Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges*, 127–28; and Pestana, *English Atlantic*, 211.

13. Shaw, *Everyday Life*, 199n44; Natalie Zacek, *Settler Society*, 10; Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 69; Beckles, *White Servitude*, 39, 69, 98. On Scottish Catholicism, see Mullett, *Catholics*, 36–54; and Kidd, *British Identities*, chap. 8.

14. Council meeting, Apr. 1660, BCR 3, pt. 2:173v; Assizes, Nov. 1657, Lefroy 2:103; Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 273; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 88–93.

15. For a recent discussion of work slowdowns, resistance, and slavery, see Weik, *Archaeology of Antislavery*. On work routines in Barbados, see Shaw, *Everyday Life*, chap. 3.

16. On the 1656 plot, see Martial Court, Nov. 2, 1656, BCR 3, pt. 2:129rv, 130v; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:94–95; Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 277; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 245–46, 254n6; and Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 83–88. On planters ignoring the restrictions they were meant to enforce, see Jarvis, "In the Eye," 271, 274. On revolt attempts in Barbados, see, most recently, Shaw, *Everyday Life*, chap. 5; and in St. John, see Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*.

17. Oct. 17, 1661, BCR 5B, pt. 1:5rv; Beckles, "Riotous and Unruly Lot," Morgan, *Laboring Women*, chap. 6.

18. Johnston, "Papists in a Protestant Society," 240–42. Quotations from Council Table, Jan. 2, 1656/7, Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:98.

19. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 254n6; Lefroy, Council Table, Sept. 6, 1660, *Memorials*, 2:136.

20. Hallett, *Bermuda Civil Records*, 1:478. Although most of Hallett's treatments of the records are modernized translations and so are of limited value in any analysis of their language, he noted that this one was verbatim.

21. Proclamation, Jul. 13, 1670, Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:318, 367. The council and court may have been less than enthusiastic about Clarke's declaration that "now shee was of the Church of England" since many of them still held dissenting or nonconforming opinions (Assizes, Dec. 18, 1672, Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:367). "Answers of the Somer Islands Company," Jul. 15, 1679, Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:432; Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 297n28.

22. Temple and Sheldon, *History*, 16, 64, 98, 104, 497; Trumbull, *History*, 139.

23. Hampshire County Court Records, Microfilm, Reel 1, Hist. Deerfield, 77; Jun. 26, 1666, Hampshire County Waste Book, in Pynchon Account Books, Microfilm, Reel 1, Hist. Deerfield, 40.

24. Hampshire County Court Records, 103. The court recorded these words in 1686 as evidence of Merry's prior misconduct.

25. O'Brien, *Pioneer Irish,* 36–38. Although O'Brien's assertions are not always verifiable, his point regarding Merry is likely to be accurate given that Merry appeared in Connecticut court records in 1655/6.

26. First Thursday in March 1655/6, Probate Records, Hartford District, Connecticut, Quarter Court Records, v.2, reel 1, Hist. Deerfield, 85. Lyman moved his household, including Merry, to Northampton, Massachusetts, before 1658; Northfield, Box 1, folder 16, Genealogies A-W, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, Hist. Deerfield.

27. James Truslow Adams, *History*, 54; J. Trumbull, *History*, 1:271, 277; Pierson, *Some helps*.

28. Gura, "Preparing."

29. Sweeney, "River Gods," 156–58; Northampton Church records, Microfilm, reel 1, 1. Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.

30. Parsons, *Puritan Outpost*, 59; Jun. 25, 1666, Hampshire County Court Records, 77; David Wilton, Account book, Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass., 9v–10r.

31. Matthew Clesson and David Thro or Frow each received three acres "not as a home-lot" in the 1660s (Northampton town records, quoted in Parsons, *Puritan Outpost*, 59); Trumbull, *History*, 138.

32. Parsons, *Puritan Outpost*, 59–60; Trumbull, *History*, 139.

33. Hampshire County Court Records, 36.

34. "Irreligion," *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, www.oed.com/view/Entry/99697.

35. Temple, "Address, 1872." 1:124–25; Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*, Map 4, 60; Haefeli and Sweeney, "Revisiting," 14.

36. Fourth Indian deed, Indian Deeds, Northfield Town Hall, microfilm at Dickenson Memorial Library, Northfield, Mass.

37. Hampshire County Court Records, 103.

38. Cornelius and Rachel Merry were listed as a couple in a Jan. 1687/8 deed (Merry and Merry, *Descendants of Cornelius Merry*, n.p.).

39. Haefeli and Sweeney, "Revisiting," 14; Melvoin, *New England Outpost*.

40. Even once Merry acquired a home lot in Northfield in 1673, he still did not have the franchise; Temple and Sheldon, *History*, 52–53.

41. Kupperman, *Indians and English*; Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*.

42. Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*; Little, *Abraham at Arms*, 131.

43. Stanwood, *Empire Reformed;* Little, *Abraham at Arms*, 129–30. On the fluctuations of English fears of Indians and French as seen in the publication histories of two captivity narratives, see Haefeli and Sweeney, "*Redeemed Captive* as Recurrent Seller."

44. Romero, *Making War.*

45. Foster, *Sex*, chap. 1; Morris, *Under Household Government,* chap. 1.

46. The quotations in this and the preceding paragraph are from C. Mather, *Memorable Providences*, 2–12.

47. Most estimates of how many Irish servants, most of whom were Catholic, were forcibly transported to the Americas in the second half of the century fall between twenty thousand and forty thousand; Shaw, 195n12; Canny, "English Migration"; Cullen, "Irish Diaspora," 64, 139. On Catholic hagiography of Glover, see Johnston, "Papists," 138n39. On Irish servants' and enslaved Africans'

challenges to English authority in Barbados, see Shaw, *Everyday Life* chap. 5; and Johnston, "Papists," 53–54, 88–89, 101–2.

48. C. Mather, *Memorable Providences*, 9.

49. Crane, *Ebb Tide*, esp. chap. 4.

50. K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 30.

51. C. Mather, *Memorable Providences*, 3.

52. K. Brown, *Foul Bodies,* 30–31, 114.

53. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. 6:71; C. Mather, *Memorable Providences*, 3.

54. Shaw, *Everyday Life*, 26–29; Muldoon, "Indian as Irishman"; K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 32; Kew, ed., "Fyne Moryson's 'Itinerary,'" 105, 107–8, 111.

55. Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, 58, quoted in Shaw, *Everyday Life*, 28; K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 40; Kew, "Fyne Moryson's 'Itinerary,'" 102–3.

56. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. 6:72 ("*Poppets*"); C. Mather, "Thoughts," 264–65 ("*Magical Images*"); C. Mather, *Memorable Providences* ("*Puppets*").

57. C. Mather*, Memorable Providences*, 22, 24–25, 73.

58. Johnston, "Papists," 137–41. A richer material culture environment for Catholics existed to the north and east of Boston in the province of Maine, where multiple Christianities converged; Chmielewski, *Spice of Popery*, 216–42.

59. Kew, "Fyne Moryson's 'Itinerary,'" 111; Shaw, *Everyday Life*,30, 200n59.

60. P. Palmer, "Interpreters."

61. Kew, "Fyne Moryson's 'Itinerary,'" 112.

62. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. 6:71.

63. Gillespie, *Devoted People*; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*; D. D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder.*

64. On religious instruction in Ireland, see Green, "Necessary Knowledge."

7 / "To bee among the praying indians"

1. Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 132–33; Salisbury, introduction to Rowlandson, *Soveraignty*, 23–26; Testimony of James Quanapohit, Jun. 1676, Photostats, MHS, 172; Romero, *Making War*, 55–56, chap. 10, esp. 162.

2. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 92.

3. On the later incorporation of Christianity into Narragansett, Niantic, and Mohegan tribes, see esp. Silverman, *Red Brethren*; and Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening.*

4. "Traditionalist" refers to a set of practices and beliefs that maintained a strong continuity with worldviews that existed before Europeans' arrival and did not include the Christian God; they were neither static nor unchanging; Romero, *Making War*, 13. On traditionalist Indians' scorn for praying Indians even before King Philip's War, see ibid., 91–92, 94–95, 129.

5. Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 135–48, 123, 126; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 89, 100.

6. Bross, *Dry Bones*, chap. 6; Lepore, *Name of War*, esp. 45; Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 101–59; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, chap. 3. For the language of martyrdom in accounts of King Philip's War, including John Eliot's attempts to include praying Indians as part of the persecuted, see Weimer, *Martyrs' Mirror*, chap. 6. See also Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*; Morrison, *Praying People*; Gregerson, "Commonwealth"; and Silverman, *Red Brethren*.

7. Little, *Abraham in Arms*; Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*; Craig Miller, "Power."

8. Goetz, *Baptism*.

9. Pulsipher, *Subjects*, chap. 4; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 103–9. For Quaker interpretations of King Philip's War, see Pestana, "Quaker Executions"; and Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace*.

10. Romero, *Making War*, 190–97; O'Brien, *Dispossession*, 87–88.

11. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 119; Gualtieri, "Indigenization of Christianity," 47–57; Mayhew, *Conquests and Triumphs*, 36; Fisher and Mason-Brown, "By Treachery and Seduction."

12. Pulsipher, "Playing John White," 195–200.

13. Romero, *Making War*, 109, quoting Experience Mayhew, "Brief Account," 11.

14. Seeman, *Death*, 169–78; Crosby, "Myth to History," 189; John W. Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 26.

15. A single mug from Magunkaquog matched those found in the cemeteries of the other praying towns, although the Magunkaquog mug was not recovered from a definitive burial site; Mrozowski et al., "Magunkaquog," 448–53.

16. For examples of earthenware and wooden communion vessels in colonists' churches, see Benes and Zimmerman, *New England Meeting House*, 98–100.

17. For richly detailed discussions, see Romero, *Making War*, 77–136; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, 144–45, 156–60; Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 135–64; Little, *Abraham in Arms*, chap. 2; Mandell, "Standing by his Father," 171, 175–77; and Trautman, "Dress."

18. Pulsipher, "Our Sages," 431–48, quotations on 443, 446, 447, 434.

19. Quotations come from the running header in Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, chaps. 2-4. For the delicately balanced situation of island Wampanoags, see Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 103–12, 257–73.

20. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, xiv–xv; Nathaniel Mather, preface to Mayhew, *Conquests and Triumphs*, A4r; Toulouse, *Captive's Position*, 2; Stanwood, *Empire Reformed*.

21. Romero, *Making War*, 105–6; Liebman, introduction and ed., *Experience Mayhew's* Indian Converts, 1–77; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, chap. 6, esp. 210, 215–16.

22. Tilley, *Phenomenology*, 27. For "inalienable possessions," see Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*.

23. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 167. Mayhew quoted Proverbs 31:23, "Her husband is known in the gates, when he sitteth among the elders of the land." On the spiritual significance of white linen for puritans, see K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 74–75, 88, 92. For the anit-m'anit connection, see Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 235, citing James Hammond Trumbull, "Natick Dictionary," 49.

24. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 167; Willoughby, "Textile Fabrics," 92.

25. Gookin, "Historical Collections," 151.

26. Romero, *Making War*, 112–20.

27. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 167 (quotation); Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 138; Romero, *Making War*, 115–16.

28. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 113–14; McMullen, "Looking for People," 110–11, Tantaquidgeon and Fawcett, "Symbolic Motifs," 99–101. See also Richmond, "Spirituality and Survival."

29. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 6, 30–31.

30. Mrozowski et al., "Magunkaquog," 447–57; Romero, *Making War*, 118.

31. Proverbs 31:10–31; Ulrich, *Good Wives,* 11–15.

32. Mayhew, *Indian Converts,* 110, 164. Ulrich, *Age of Homespun*, chap. 2. On the development of the whaling industry in Nantucket, see Vickers, "First Whalemen."

33. Silverman, "We Chuse to Be Bounded"; K. Brown, "Anglo-Indian Gender Frontier," 57–59; V. D. Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, 57–62; Romero, *Making War*, 51–53.

34. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 45, 153, 155, 139.

35. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries,* 197–215.

36. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 140.

37. Ibid., 141; Romero, *Making War*, 106; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 117; Plane, "Childbirth Practices."

38. P. Crawford, *Women and Religion*, 85–86; in reference to the separatists at Plymouth, see Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, 70.

39. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1500–1650*, 97–98; Ceci, "Native Wampum"; Simmons, *Cautantowwit's House*, 74; Romero, *Making War*, 59–60; L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 9–13, 54–64.

40. 1676, Photostats, MHS, 18. On Deer Island, see Drake, *King Philip's War*, 125; Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 140, 146–47, 223. On the restrictive laws, see also Pulsipher, "Our Sages," 433–34. The military service of Native Christians confined to Deer Island created a status under English common law defined by action rather than race; see Goodman, "Deer Island."

41. Job Kattananit [Kattnuent], Petition to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay, Feb. 14, 1675/6 Photostats, MHS. For a printed version, see Salisbury, ed., *Soveraignty*, 130–31.

42. Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 148; Gookin, "Historical Account," 501–3.

43. Kattananit, "Petition"; Romero, *Making War*, 129; L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 6, 224–25; Murray, *Indian Giving*, 28–29; Simmons, *Spirit*, 45–46; Bragdon and Goddard eds. and trans., *Native Writings in Massachusett*, 1:19; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, 180.

44. L. Brooks, *Common Pot*, 78 (quotation), 9–13, 78–83; Axtell, "Power of Print"; Fitzgerald, "I Wunnatuckquannum," 152; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, 168; Bragdon, "Vernacular Literacy."

45. Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775,* 187–92.

46. Bragdon and Goddard, *Native Writings*, 1:33, 41.

47. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries,* 91; Bragdon and Goddard, *Native Writings*, 1:19–21; Bross and Wyss, eds., introduction to *Early Native Literacies*, 1–13; Pearce, "Native Mapping." See also Lopenzina, *Red Ink*, chaps. 2 and 3. On the similar phrase "as long as the earth remains" in one of the Wampanoag sachem Wunnatuckquannum's deeds, see Fitzgerald, "I Wunnatuckquannum," 159.

48. Petition from the inhabitants of the Narragansett Country to the King, Jul. 29, 1679, in *RICR*, 3:58–59.

49. Oct, 4, 1675, *Plymouth Colony Records* 5:177, quoted in Oberg, *Dominion*, 159.

50. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th ser., vol. 2:235–7, quoted in Kellaway, *New England Company,* 206–7.

51. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 128–30, Sewall, Nov. 10, 1680, Company for the Propagation of the Gospel ledger, MHS.

52. See, for example, Eliot, "Eliot Tracts"; Gookin, "Historical Account"; and Gookin, "Historical Collections."

53. Eliot, "Letter to Robert Boyle, March 15, 1682/3," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser., vol. 3 (1794).

54. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 116–18.

55. Bross, *Dry Bones,* 195–203. Quotations are from Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 7, 9.

56. Ahhaton et al. Petition to the General Court, Sept. 10, 1684, Photostats, MHS. On Ahhaton's tumultuous marriage, see Plane, *Colonial Intimacies,* 1–4. For competing land use, see Cronon, *Changes in the Land*; O'Brien, *Dispossession*; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 46–47, 95–96, 121–56; and Gould, "Contested Places."

57. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*.

58. Richter, "Iroquois Vesus Iroquois"; E. Anderson, "Blood," 140–50; Chmielewski, *Spice of Popery*, 58, 99–106.

59. E. Anderson, *Betrayal of Faith*, 213–14, has urged a move away from considerations of "conversion" as judged externally to questions about the individual's perspective and practices. For one well-known individual, Kateri or Catherine Tekakwitha, see Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 32–33, 50–51, 55–56; and Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path."

60. Seeman, *Death*, chap. 4, esp. 138–39. On "Feast of the Kettle," see Howey, "Colonial Encounters," 342.

61. Cotton Mather to Sir William Ashurst, Dec. 7, 1713, in Silverman, ed., *Selected Letters*, 144.

62. Samuel Sewall to Sir William Ashurst, May 3, 1700, New England Company Correspondence, Guildhall Library, London.

63. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 116–18; Plane, "Awashunkes," 149.

64. Hodge, "Faith and Practices."

8 / "In consideration for his raising her in the Christian faith"

1. Sept. 1, 1648, BCR 2:73v.

2. *Mass. Recs.*, 5:136 (May 24, 1676).

3. See, most recently, Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 15; and Romero, *Making War*, chap. 5.

4. Szasz, *Indian Education*, 173–90; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, chap. 6.

5. Esther English, Indenture to Benjamin Whitney, Jun. [23] 1704, Ewer Papers, 40; Samuel English et al., Indenture, 1704, John Leverett Papers, 1628–1726, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

6. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*.

7. Indenture of Joseph Muckamuck to Josiah Holland, 1706, John Leverett Papers, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

8. On childhood in the English empire, see Brewer, *By Birth or Consent*.

9. For indentures of English children, see, for example, Jul. 21, 1651, BCR 2:98r; Aug. 15, 1672, BCR 5A:157r.

10. For Indian boarding schools in later centuries and in multiple colonial systems, see Jacobs, *White Mother*; and Archuleta et al., eds. *Away from Home*.

11. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 23; Newell, "Indian Slavery."

12. *Mass. Recs.*, 5:136 (May 24, 1676).

13. *RICR,* 2:549–50 (Aug, 6, 1676).

14. Marshall, "Settling Down," 16, 226.

15. Plymouth Records, 5:223 (Mar, 6, 1676/7).

16. Newell, "Indian Slavery"; Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*; C. Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country;* Ethridge, *Chicaza to Chickasaw*, esp. chaps. 6–7; Ekberg, *Stealing Indian Women*; J. F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*; Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*.

17. Peter Thacher, Diary, MHS, entries for 1679, passim.

18. Thacher, Diary, undated entry, 1; Thacher, ed., *Thomas Thacher,* 2:56; Haefeli and Sweeney, "Wattanummon's World," 212–24; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, 213; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 203–15. See also chap. 6, n. 39 in this volume.

19. Petition of Margaret Thacher, Oct. 16, 1679, Massachusetts Archives vol. 16:167–68, Massachusetts State Archives, Columbia Point, Boston; Thacher, Diary. Thomas Thacher's library was valued at £110; Thacher, ed., *Thomas Thacher,* 1: 233; Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 227.

20. Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 96.

21. Ulrich, "Wheels"; David Silverman, "We Chuse to Be Bounded"; Romero, *Making War*, 100.

22. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 211; Ulrich, *Good Wives*, chap. 1; Arnold, "Female Misbehavior"; Rowlandson, *Soveraignty*, 97.

23. Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 138–39.

24. May 14, and Aug. 18, 1679, Thacher, Diary; Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 148, 177, 182.

25. Simmons, *Spirit*, 44, 82; Romero, *Making War*, 147–48.

26. Gowing, *Common Bodies*; Morris, *Under Household Government*; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 209–10; Romero, *Making War*, 27, 124–25, 134–35; E. Anderson, *Betrayal of Faith*.

27. See, for example, Nov. 8, Dec. 13, 1679; Feb. 11, Mar. 17, 1679/80, Peter Thacher, Diary.

28. See, for example, Nov. 11, 1708, Sewall, Company for the Propagation of the Gospel ledger, 5. Thacher was paid per sermon from the end of 1708 to 1711; Kellaway, *New England Company,* 236; Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, xix.

29. Demos, *Little Commonwealth*.

30. Rivett, *Science*, chap. 3.

31. Williams, *Key*, 170; Romero, *Making War*, 49–50. On the English belief that thunder caused the damage, see Rath, *How Early America Sounded*, chap. 1.

32. Richmond and Den Ouden, "Gendered Political Histories," 180–82; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, 52; Pearce, "Native Mapping," 159–60; Rubertone, *Grave Untertakings*, 173.

33. Hallett, *Civil Records*, 2:283.

34. Memorandum of indenture of Joanna, the child of Penelope, to John Nicolls, May 23, 1663, BCR 5A:39v; Certificate of John Nicolls, Sept, 24, 1663, ibid., 41v; Memorandum, [1661 or 1662], ibid., 21r.

35. Roger Wood, mid-1630s, Letter no. 88, Hallett, *Civil Records*, 1:193–94.

36. By 1663, the Davises did not have such means; Penelope was the defendant in a £2 debt case in 1662 while John was away at sea. Assizes, Nov. 27–Dec. 1, 1660, BCR 3, pt. 2:184v; Dec. 2–6, 1662, BCR 5B, pt. 1:19v. See also Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 54.

37. Feb. 3, 1648/9, BCR 2:75v; May 14, 1651, ibid., 97v.

38. Jan.13 and 8, 1648/9, ibid., 74v.

39. Roger Wood, Letter no. 88, Hallett, *Civil Records*, 1:194; Assizes, Oct. 6, 1640, Hallett, *Civil Records*, 1:263.

40. Cf. Virginia Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 76.

41. Mar. 5, 1661/2, BCR 7:52.

42. Southampton Register, Hallett, *Early Bermuda Records*, 11. Thomas Wells's 1673 will mentioned "My Molatto boy called Peter," who may have been Susanna and Ellick's son (will of Thomas Wells, Feb, 25, 1673/4, BW 1:206).

43. General Court, Oct. 5, 1652, BCR 4:23. Doll Allen's petition is also mentioned in Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 51, based on the excerpted records in Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:34–35.

44. Thornton, "Religious and Ceremonial Life"; Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*; Heywood and Thornton, *Africans and Catholics*.

45. James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares,* 85–89; James H. Sweet, *Recreating*, chap. 5.

46. A wide range of experiences existed within that generalization. See, for example, Gomez, *Exchanging*, 146, 152, 264–72, 283–90, on the influence of West African ring ceremonies on the ring shout and *minkisi*, charms or amulets created in religious rites around other-than-human persons associated with water and earth, and on the development of hoodoo.

47. Hallett, *Early Bermuda Records*, 31 (heading information); Hallett, *Chronicle*, 386–87.

48. "A catalogue of the Negro men, women and children," Jan. 1632/33, BCR F: flyleaf; Jarvis, *In the Eye,* 29, 482n31; Smallwood, *Saltwater,* esp. chap. 2.

49. John Nicoll, Sheriff, to the Secretary [Henry Tucker], Mar. 2, 1664/65, BCR 5A:65v; Lefroy, *Memorials,* 2:228–29; Hallett, *Early Bermuda Records,* 31; Thornton, "Central African Names"; Handler and Jacoby, "Slave Names." *Manono* is probably a variant of *Maneno,* a name seemingly of Bantu origin, which makes a Central African origin plausible ("Kongo language" and "Mbundu," *Encyclopoedia Britannica Online Academic Edition,* www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/321752/Kongo-language and www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/371373/Mbundu).

50. Blier, *African Vodun,* 204.

51. Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans,* 208–10.

52. James H. Sweet, *Recreating,* 195; Thornton, *Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 17; Cavazzi, *Missione*, bk. 3, chap. 3; Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione,* 4, no. 6.

53. MacGaffey, "Art and Spirituality," 231–32; da Cortona, "Breve relatione, 159; James H. Sweet, *Recreating,* 6, 193–95; Miller, "Retention"; Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans,* 195, 210; Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione,* 1, no. 260.

54. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 93; Jarvis, *St. George's*; Dec. 26, 1717, Parish and Vestry Minutes, Southampton, BA; Nov. 8, 1716, Parish and Vestry Minutes, Devonshire, BA, n.p.

55. Jarvis, "In the Eye," 645–46; MacGaffey, "Art and Spirituality," 231, 242–46, 227–29. For the layering of multiple religious traditions, see, most recently, James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*; and Vincent V. Brown, *Reaper's Garden*.

56. Bermudians of color often participated in these masked processions around Christian holidays, making the performances rich material for an investigation of how Africans and Indians maintained, disposed of, incorporated, and created a wide array of cultural practices in their struggle as enslaved people. I have begun such research for my book on cultural exchange and community formation in street and church performances in the early modern Atlantic world.

57. It is possible that a child resulted from John McKenney's acts of fornication in 1659; BCR 3, pt. 2:164v, 176r. He indentured "his son Anthony, a Molatto" in 1664.

A 1687 memorandum described Hannah as "about thirtie years old"; partners were often of comparable age. Indenture of Anthony McKenney, 1664, Jul. 27, 1687, BCR 5A:140r; Memorandum, BCR 8:186.

58. Johnston and Hallett, *Early Colonists*, 31. Jan. 1632/3, "A catalogue of the Negro men, women and children," BCR F: flyleaf; Jan.? 1647/8, BCR 3:7r; Hallett, *Civil Records*, 1:276. ; BCR 7:15–20, 29–31 (Dec. 1679), 5–7, 9–10 (Jan. 1679/80), 42v; [undated; Dec. 4, 1672 or thereafter] BCR 5A:162r; Robinson, Robert, Account of the King's Slaves in 1687, Jun. 16, 1687, TNA: PRO: CO 37/25, item 26; Jul. 27, 1687, BCR 8:186; Dec. 29, 1687, BCR 7:195. On the incontinency presentment, see also Jarvis, "In the Eye," 277n48.

59. Will of John Elwick, Dec. 24, 1692, BW 3, pt. 1:189. Variant spellings of Elwick's name in the records included "Ellick."

60. Craton, *History*, 64; Craton and Saunders, *Islanders*, 1:119–26; Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 327–32.

61. Craton and Saunders, *Islanders*, 1:134–36, 124, 138–39.

62. See the census and surviving wills in Johnston and Hallett, *Early Colonists*, 76, 43, 32, 26.

63. Ibid., 3. In Bahamian records, the last name usually appears as "McKinney."

64. Ibid., 5, 19, 31, 23, 76, 3.

65. Ibid., 8, 42; Craton and Saunders, *Islanders*, 126–27. The early records of the Bahamas are fragmentary because of the colony's unstable political standing before the 1720s.

Part III / Disciplining

1. Jul. 1652, BCR 3, pt. 1:66v.

2. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 30–32, 39–44; Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," chap. 4; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 99–109.

3. For comparisons of the legal treatment and cultural significance of interracial sex in the English, French, and Iberian empires, see Sidbury and Cañizares-Esguerra, "Mapping Ethnogenesis," 182–83; Nash, "Hidden History"; Moitt, "In the Shadow," 40–41; and M. Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island*.

4. Deal, "A Constricted World," 278; K. Brown, *Good Wives*, chap. 6, esp. 202, 206; Goetz, *Baptism*, chap. 3; Coolidge, "Puritan Morality," 85; Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*, 80–83, 208–9n55; Warren, "Enslaved Africans," 155–89. Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, 184–86, specified New Haven cases that involved men but not women of African descent.

5. Marriages of people of color, including interracial marriages, existed in seventeenth-century Virginia but had weaker legal standing than their counterparts in Bermuda; see T. H. Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* 8–10; and Goetz, *Baptism*, chaps. 3 and 4.

6. Jul. 1652, BCR 3, pt. 1:66v.

7. Unlawful sex charges included fornication (commonly any unlawful sex, although the legal charge meant sex between two unmarried individuals); incontinency (fornication between two people who subsequently married); adultery (fornication in which at least one of the participants was married to someone else); and bastardy (a birth to a couple who were not legally wed); "An Act against Bastardy, and Incontinency," 1690, *Acts of Assembly, Made and Enacted in the Bermuda or Summer-Island, From 1690,*

to 1713–14 [printed], CO 39/2, 3–4. Revised 1723 "Act against Bastardy": Darrell, ed., *Acts*, 16–18.

9 / "Abominable mixture and spurious issue"

1. Hening, *Statutes*, 3:86–88; Goetz, *Baptism*, chap. 3; Wallenstein, *Tell the Court*, chap. 1.

2. Jordan, *White over Black*, 78, lumped Bermuda in with Virginia, based on their close connection and the incomplete nineteenth-century printed version of Bermuda's records, Lefroy's *Memorials*. See also Goetz, *Baptism*, 80. Michael Jarvis has estimated that Lefroy contains about 30 percent of extant colonial records for Bermuda; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 4.

3. Hening, *Statutes*, 1:146; Jordan, *White over Black*, 78. On the Hugh Davis case, see, for example, A. L. Higginbotham, *Shades of Freedom*, 20–21; Mumford, "After Hugh"; K. F. Hall, *Things of Darkness*, 143; and Bernhard, "Beyond the Chesapeake," 550. For a recent treatment that considers the role of religious categories in the construction of racial difference, see Goetz, *Baptism*, chap. 3.

4. Jordan, *White over Black*, 139; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 15; Bardaglio, "Shamefull Matches," 116. On "abominable" as indicative of European disgust about interracial sex, see, for example, Smits, "Abominable Mixture"; and Zackodnik, "Fixing the Color Line," 428.

5. See, for example, Herod Long and George Gardiner (fornication), May 1665, *RICR*. See also K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, chap. 3.

6. K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 80–89; C. Mather, *Warnings from the Dead*, 58–59, cited in K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 87.

7. K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 4, 26–32, 73–75, 79; Little, "Shoot That Rogue." See also Toulouse, *Captive's Position*.

8. Shepard, *Short catechism*, 53; R. Mather, *Farewel exhortation*, 22.

9. Williams, Appendix, *George Fox digg'd*, 13, for other uses of "abominable," see 106, 113; Torrey, *Exhortation*, 41; and I. Mather, *Wicked mans portion*, 12.

10. See, for example, Jun. 14, 1642, *Mass. Recs.*, 2:12 (rape); Mar. 31, 1655 BCR 3, pt. 2:107v (buggery); Oct. 16, 1677, BCR 7:18r (blasphemy).

11. Anonymous, lecture sermon delivered Nov. 1677, Sermon collection, 1647–1831, MHS, Box 1, vol. 3:19.

12. "Abominable" was regularly spelled as "abhominable" through the seventeenth century and was "explained as *ab homine*, quasi 'away from man, inhuman, beastly,' a derivation which influenced the use and has permanently affected the meaning of the word," adding to the sense of "deserving imprecation or abhorrence"; *Oxford English Dictionary Online*; H. Hall, "Elizabethan Penances," 274.

13. Assizes, Nov. 1650 and Jul. 1652, BCR 3, pt. 1:32r, 66r–67r; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:30.

14. Giving gifts in the context of sexual intimacy was accepted in court as important if partial evidence for a promise of marriage; Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*, 135.

15. S. Block, *Rape*; Fuentes, "Power"; D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, chap. 1.

16. White, "Wearing Three or Four Handkerchiefs." On the ability of women of color to find and make meaningful connections with white men with the power of life and death over them, see Gordon-Reed, *Hemingses of Monticello*.

17. Morgan, "Some Could Suckle"; Thompson, "Some Were Wild."

18. Proclamation, Dec. 18, 1662, BCR 5B, pt. 1:20r; Proclamation, Jan. 2, 1660/1, BCR 3, pt. 2:188r.

19. Somers Islands Company, Letter to the Governor and Council of the Summer Islands, Mar. 9, 1668/9, BCR 4:44rv; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 259–60.

20. Bernhard, "Beyond the Chesapeake," 564.

21. Tryon, *Friendly Advice*, 127–30.

22. For more on Thomas Tryon, his appropriation of an African voice, and his effectiveness as a critic of slavery, see K. F. Hall, "Extravagant Viciousness"; Rosenberg, "Thomas Tryon"; Goetz, *Baptism*, 108; and David Brion Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 371–74.

23. Memorial . . . by many Ministers of the Gospel, 30 May 1694, *Acts and Resolves . . . of . . . Massachusetts,* 537; "An Act, to Prevent Incestuous Marriages," *Acts and Laws [May 29 1695]* (Boston, 1695), 119; "An Act for the Punishment of Buggery," *Acts and Laws [May 26 1697]* (Boston, 1697), 98.

24. The Massachusetts law did not use the phrase "abominable mixture"; *Acts and Resolves . . . of . . . Massachusetts*, 1:578–79; *Acts and Laws [May 30, Oct. 24, 1705] . . . Third Session* (Boston: Bartholomew Green, 1705), 288–89. For this implication, see Mumford, "After Hugh," 291; and Jordan, *White over Black*, 78. For an analysis of "mixt" as a generative force in English intellectual circles that ignores the colonial context, see Schmidgen, *Exquisite Mixture.* Chapter 10 of this volume discusses the 1705 law at greater length.

25. Bruchac and Hart, "Materiality," 297, 302–3; Bragdon, *Native People of S. New England, 1650–1775*, chap. 7. On the significance of the word "tribe" rather than "enclave" or "community," see Gould, "Contested Places," chap. 4.

26. The Innu (Montaignais), for example, accepted anyone as Innu those who "acted Innu"; E. Anderson, *Betrayal of Faith*.

27. E. Anderson, *Betrayal of Faith*, 249n44.

28. Little, *Abraham in Arms*, chap. 4. On the Deerfield attack and the involvement of Native refugees from King Philip's War, see Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives.* On Dummer's War and Greylock's War, see Miller, "Power, Political Economy, and War," chaps. 5–6.

29. For this process in Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative, see Arnold, "Female Misbehavior."

30. Little, *Abraham at Arms*, 71–78; Finch, *Dissenting Bodies*, chap. 1.

31. Demos, *Unredeemed Captive.*

32. James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*.

33. Cf. Godbeer, "Eroticizing the Middle Ground," 93.

34. Goetz, *Baptism*, chap. 3.

35. Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 46.

36. Cañizares-Esguerra and Sidbury, "Mapping Ethnogenesis," 182; Nash, "Hidden History."

37. Oct. 7, 1656, BCR Frag. G-H:30.

38. Dec. 6, 1659, BCR 3, pt. 2:164v.

39. Sept. 1, 1662, BCR 5B, pt. 1:15r; Jun. 27, 1661, ibid., 3v–4r.

40. Assizes, Dec. 3–6, 1661, ibid., 7v; Apr. 17, 1662, ibid., 12v, 15r.

41. Sept. 1, 1662, BCR 5B, pt. 1:15r.

42. Manuscript genealogical notes on George Morris suggest that George and Tomasina reunited, but their sources are unclear, and I have not been able to confirm them; Julia E. Mercer and William E. S. Zuill, "Morris, George," (genealogical notes), unpag., Bermuda Archives.

43. Nov. 11, 1673, May 1672, and Feb. 5, 1673/4, BCR 5B, pt. 2:245, 209, 64–65; Hallett, *Civil Records*, 2:173, 123, 190; Jun. 1679, Actions entered, BCR 7:68; Hallett, *Civil Records*, 2:377; on governor's circumvention, see Jarvis, "In the Eye," 276.

44. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 30, 483n32. In the 1630s and 1640s, planters also bought slaves directly from privateers as well as imported them from Providence Island; Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 31.

45. Jun. 11–13, 1677, BCR 7:17r. This matter-of-fact reaction contrasts with a 1646 case in Virginia in which the mere rumor of interracial fornication sparked a libel case; see Goetz, *Baptism*, 74–76.

46. Jun. 11–13, 1677, BCR 7:17r.

10 / "Sensured to be whipped uppon a Lecture daie"

1. Presentments, Dec. 1678, BCR 7:33r.

2. Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, introduction and chap. 4. Bermuda, like other English colonies, did not have ecclesiastical courts and churches could discipline only their own members, so transgressions of commonly held definitions of moral behavior were left to the civil court system. For promotion of moral behavior within the Church of England, see Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 16–17.

3. The basis for this analysis is a database I created of the 545 extant unlawful sex cases in Bermuda's court records for the period 1650–1723. The cases come from the following sources: BCR vols. 3–8; Hallett, *Civil Records*; Quarter Sessions, Bermuda, 1689–1724, Rawlinson C710, Bodleian Library, Great Britain Transcripts, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C. (Database hereafter cited as "Database of Bermudian unlawful sex cases.") There are almost no extant court records for 1682–84 as the final years of the contention over the Somers Islands Company's charter demanded elite Bermudians' attention; on the charter trial in London, see Dunn, "Downfall of the Bermuda Company"; and Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 59–61. Michael Jarvis tabulated "bastardy and miscegenation" cases for the latter half of the period, 1690–1724; see Jarvis, "In the Eye," 604; and Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 300–301; see also Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 28, 45–57, 65, 124, 191–92.

4. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 57–61, 493n81, chap. 2; Stanwood, *Empire Reformed*, 40–53; Haffenden, "Crown and the Colonial Charters"; Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandize*, chap. 4.

5. Keeping a register was not common practice in Bermuda. Bermudian church registers have survived only in partial and scattered form for the seventeenth century, and barely at all for the eighteenth, so it is not possible to investigate whether women of color ever appeared in church disciplinary hearings; Hallett, *Chronicle,* 386–87.

6. On enslavement and sexual coercion, see Burnard, *Mastery*; S. Block, *Rape*; Warren, "Cause of Her Grief"; and Hartman, "Venus"; Fuentes, "Power and Historical Figuring," 566–68.

7. For comparative scholarship on slave codes, see Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 239–46; Nicholson, "Legal Borrowing"; Gaspar, "With a Rod of Iron"; Paton, "Punishment,"

936; and Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*. For the legal historiography of the mainland southern colonies, see T. L. Snyder, "Legal History," 21–22.

8. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*; Morgan, "Demographic Logics."

9. Jan. 1632/33, "A catalogue of the Negro men, women and children," BCR F: flyleaf; Nov. 1650, BCR 3, pt. 1:32v; Dec. 3–6, 1661 Assizes, BCR 5B, pt. 1:8r. For Ingle's indenture, see Jul. 8, 1652, BCR 2:71r.

10. Mar. 2, 1664/5, BCR 5A:65v; Johnston and Hallett, *Early Colonists of the Bahamas*, 31; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:228–9. For more on Powle, see Kopelson, "One Indian and a Negroe," 312–13.

11. Assizes, Nov. 27–Dec. 1, 1660, BCR 3, pt. 2:183v. For the full text of the acknowledgment, see Kopelson, "Sinning Property," 473n32.

12. H. Hall, "Elizabethan Penances," 268. Later references in Bermudian records to the common practice of penance make clear that it happened much more frequently than clerks noted.

13. Database of Bermudian unlawful sex cases.

14. Bermuda Assembly, "An Act against Bastardy, and Incontinency," 4.

15. Benjamin Bennett to the Council on Trade and Plantations, Mar. 31, 1705, TNA: PRO: CO 37/7, 56–58ff.

16. Quarter Court, Mar. 31, 1692, "Quarter Sessions, Bermuda," 45. There were a total of 27 incontinency cases 1700–1723; see figure 10.4, "Unlawful Sex in Bermuda by Type of Offense, 1650–1723."

17. Spierenburg, *Spectacle of Suffering*. That performance continued in the permanent scarring of the bodies of those punished; Paton, "Punishment," 936.

18. Dec. 16, 1672, BCR 5B, pt. 2:116r; BW 1:206, Feb. 25, 1673/4.

19. Assizes, Jun. 18–27, 1667 BCR 5B, pt. 1:48v.

20. Jarvis, *St. George's*; Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 93; Parish and vestry minutes, Dec. 26, 1717, Southampton, BA, 6v.

21. Assizes, Dec. 2–6, 1662, BCR 5B, pt. 1:17r; Assizes, Dec. 3–6, 1661, ibid., 7v, 8r.

22. Assizes, Jun. 11–13, 1677, BCR 7:16v–17r.; Database of Bermudian unlawful sex cases; Assizes continued from the Dec. 1679 session, BCR 7:42r.

23. Database of Bermudian unlawful sex cases.

24. Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 111. In 1650, Bermuda's population was about 4,000; in 1670, it was about 6,000.

25. On the general legal tolerance of interracial sex for European men, see A. L. Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color*, 43–46; Flaherty, "Law and the Enforcement of Morals," 240; and Fischer, *Suspect Relations*, 124. For five prosecutions of English men in the Chesapeake, see Goetz, *Baptism*, chap 4. The court also charged some, but not all, of the women involved.

26. Beginning in 1661, midwives were required to swear an oath to use their "best skill" in assisting birthing women and to report illegitimate births and extract the names of fathers of those children; Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:163; Jarvis, "In the Eye," 492, 493n3.

27. Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, 183.

28. See, for example, "Quarter Sessions, Bermuda," Jul. 10, 1712, 451, 455; Database of Bermudian unlawful sex cases.

29. Jan. 10, 1705/6, and Oct. 20, 1715, "Quarter Sessions, Bermuda," 260, 530.

30. Mandell, "Saga of Sarah Muckamugg," 73; Benes, "Slavery"; Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*, 188n27, 80–84; O'Brien, *Dispossession*. See also Mandell, *Behind the Frontier;* and Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*.

31. Pateman, *Sexual Contract*; K. Brown, *Good Wives*; Fischer, *Suspect Relations,* introduction and chap. 3; Morgan, *Laboring Women*; S. Block, *Rape*. On the lingering effect of coverture on women's relationship to the state in the English colonies and in the United States, see Kerber, *No Constitutional Right*. In Bermuda, white men's legal bodily and sexual access to women of color was mitigated by their physical absence from the island. From the mid-1680s, they, along with many men of color, were increasingly gone at sea for most of the year; Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 103, 261–64.

32. The surviving fragments are from 1758 and 1789; Hallett, *Chronicle*, 386–87.

33. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 97–100, 105–9. Ulrich, *Good Wives*; and Boydston, *Home and Work* remain important standards on household labor in New England. On ways in which enslaved women's performance of fieldwork excluded them from European definitions of womanhood, see K. Brown, *Good Wives*, chap. 4; K. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 68; and Morgan, *Laboring Women*.

34. For only a few examples, see Zacek, "Voices and Silences"; E. B. Higginbotham, "Beyond the Sound of Silence"; and Hammonds, "Toward a Genealogy."

35. Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women," 912–20; E. B. Higginbotham, "Metalanguage of Race."

36. Saidiya Hartman, "Venus."

37. Hammonds, "Black (W)holeness," 131.

38. The specific effects of this circular logic on women's day-to-day participation in the church must remain unknown given the lack of church disciplinary records and related documents. For the connection between success in commerce and the Protestant fight against Catholicism, see Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandize*, 113, 122–34; Stanwood, *Empire Reformed*, esp. chaps. 5 and 6; and Pestana, *Protestant Empire*, chap. 6. Bermudian trade routes tied the island more tightly to English colonies than to England, and Bermudians circumvented mercantilist restrictions on their trade whenever possible, but they still saw themselves as contributing to the strength of the empire: they might not have needed the empire, but the empire needed them; Jarvis, *In the Eye*, chap. 3.

11 / "If any white woman shall have a child by any Negroe or other slave"

1. "An Act against Bastardy" (1723), *Acts of . . . Bermuda*, 18.

2. National Archives of the Leeward Islands, CO154/1 no. 49; Hening, *Statutes*, 2:170 (1662); *Archives of Maryland*, 1:533–34; *Acts and Resolves . . . of the Massacshuetts Bay Colony*, 1:578. Colonies with comparatively later dates of legislation against interracial intimacy like North Carolina (1715), South Carolina (1717), Delaware (1721), and Pennsylvania (1725) were younger colonies with later dates of English settlement. For the specific statutes in each of these locations, see Jordan, *White over Black*, 139n6. On the North Carolina law, see also Fischer, "Dangerous Acts," 119–31; and Fischer, *Suspect Relations*, 123–24, 128.

3. *Acts and Laws of . . . Rhode-Island, and Providence-Plantations*, (1719), 7; "An Act to Prevent Clandestine Marriages," section 5, Jan. 1798, *The Public Laws of the State of Rhode Island*, 483.

4. Goetz, *Baptism*, chap. 3; Warren, "Enslaved Africans"; Little, *Abraham at Arms*; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 157–65.

5. Packwood, *Chained on the Rock*; A. L. Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color*; Packwood, "Forgotten Colonial Past."

6. Bermuda Assembly, Letter to the Somer Islands Company, Jan. 27, 1662/3, Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2:190.

7. Goetz slightly misread this law as failing to address fornication; *Baptism*, 80. I differ with her characterization of the 1662/3 Bermuda law as addressing "interreligious" as well as interracial fornication.

8. The case of Ann Simons and Thomas Wood discussed in chapter 9 was presented under a 1672 order (May 1672, BCR 5B, pt. 2:209).

9. Assizes, May 1672, Hallett, *Bermuda Civil Records*, 2:123.

10. For the former interpretation, see Packwood, *Chained on the Rock*, 86–87.

11. Council Table, Jul. 17, 1662, BCR 5B, pt.1:14r.

12. Assizes, Nov. 27.–Dec. 1, 1660, BCR 3, pt. 2:183v.

13. Database of Bermudian unlawful sex cases.

14. Ibid. For an exploration of two interracial cases involving white women in the 1670s, see Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 122–24.

15. "Quarter Sessions, Bermuda," Oct. 9, 1712, 457; Apr. 16, 1713, 476; Oct. 12, 1714, 503; Jan. 13, 1714/5, 510; Apr. 12, 1716, 556.

16. Bermuda Assembly, "An Act against Bastardy, and Incontinency," 1690, CO 39/2, in *Acts of Assembly . . . in . . . Bermuda*, 3–4. The text of the act is from a manuscript note in that printed copy.

17. TNA: PRO: CO 39/1, 16; "An Act Prohibiting any Negroes or other Slaves Buying & Selling & punishing them that Deale with them," May 21, 1687, *Journal of the House of Assembly of Bermuda*, 4:42; "An Act to Prevent the Stealing of Oranges, and other Fruits," Oct. 31, 1698, TNA: PRO: CO 39/2, 48, emphasis in original.

18. Benjamin Bennett to the Council on Trade and Plantations, Mar. 31, 1705, TNA: PRO: CO 37/7, 56–58ff.

19. Bermuda Assembly, "An Additional Clause to Explain the Act, Intituled, An Act against Bastardy, and Incontinency," May 8, 1707, TNA: PRO: CO 39/2, 75.

20. 11 May 1704, *Journal of the House of Assembly of Bermuda*, 1: 86. On men's access to women as a central feature of gendered power, see Ditz, "New Men's History," 11, 19; and Thomas A. Foster, ed., *New Men*, 2–3. On the interlocking hierarchies that formed the "reproductive matrix" of colonial sexuality, see D'Emilio and Freeman, *Intimate Matters*. During the eighteenth century, other colonies turned to castration as part of a system of corporal punishments designed to degrade black enslaved bodies and differentiate them from white free bodies. See, for example, Fischer, *Suspect Relations*, 180–81.

21. Packwood, *Chained on the Rock*, 118–19; Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 361n12.

22. After the Crown took over the proprietary colony from the Somers Islands Company in 1684, the Assembly reinstated many "useful" laws from that era; Kennedy, "Anglo-Bermudian Society," 354–55. For Barbados, see Gerbner, "The Ultimate Sin," 66; Beckles, *Black Rebellion in Barbados*, 38; David Brion Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 57–58; and note 3 in the introduction to part 3 of this volume.

23. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 100–115, 86–87, 297–99, 315–16.

24. Oct. 7, 1703, "Quarter Sessions, Bermuda," 200–201. Anne received the standard number of lashes for bastardy.

25. Fischer, *Suspect Relations*, 167, 163–64, 175–80.

26. Will of Solomon Robinson, Sept. 4, 1692, probate Oct. 27, 1692, BW 3, pt. 1:192–93; Apr. 3, 1700, Pembroke, "Parish and Vestry Minutes," n.p.; Jul. 11, 1700, "Quarter Sessions, Bermuda," 145.

27. Mumford, "After Hugh," 293; Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, 256–58, 265. For similar cases in mid-eighteenth-century North Carolina, see Fischer, *Suspect Relations*, 185–87. On the importance of control and authority in eighteenth-century English masculinity, see Thomas A. Foster, *Sex*.

28. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series* 22:509; Packwood, *Chained on the Rock*, 119.

29. "Generation," *Oxford English Dictionary Online*; Psalm 95:10–11.

30. "Insolency," *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

31. Cf. Mandell, "Saga of Sarah Muckamugg," 73; Benes, "Slavery in Boston," 13; and Warren, "Enslaved Africans."

32. Ibid., 152.

33. *Acts and Resolves . . . of the Massacshuetts Bay Colony*, 1:578.

34. Claydon, *William III*.

35. On the ways nations make the populations included, and those excluded, seem to be natural communities through ethnic designations, see Balibar, "La forme nation," 130–31.

36. Dec. 1, 1705, Sewall, *Diary*, 1:532.

37. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 186–87.

38. Cf. John W. Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 148–49.

39. Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, 123–24.

40. Massachusetts, like other New England colonies, did not have a statute that specified that children followed the freedom status of the mother. However, in 1670 the colony amended its 1641 recognition of slavery so that the English could legally enslave the children of slaves. Customary practice achieved what the law did not mandate (Greene, *Negro in Colonial New England*, 95, 126).

41. *Acts and Laws [May, Oct. 1705]*, 279, 285.

42. Goetz, *Baptism*, 83.

43. See, for example, Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandize*, 85–86. The scholarship on extended baptism, or as critics and later historians called it, the "Halfway Covenant," is voluminous; see chap. 3, n. 57 of this volume.

44. Edmund Morgan, *Puritan Family*; Benes, *Meetinghouses*, 36, 283 (table 2); Gerbner, "Beyond the 'Halfway Covenant.'" Gerbner's examination of Mitchel and the text of the 1705 law suggest that there are still new stories to be found in well-thumbed New England church records. On the issues of inheritance and consent in a religious context, see Brewer, *By Birth or Consent*, chap. 2.

45. Elizabeth Tucker's first child was "Supposed to be a Black Child." While it is not certain that Ben was also the father of that child and of Tucker's third recorded child, her refusal to name the father in that third case suggests that she wanted to protect her partner and it is plausible that her emotional and physical connection remained with the same man; May 4, Jun. 14, Jul. 14, 1709, "Quarter Sessions," 373, 376, 379, 388; Jan. 28, 1713/14, ibid., 492; Nov. 1, 1716, Jul. 18, 1717, ibid., 603, 638.

46. Oct. 4, 1722, Jan. 17, 1722/3, ibid., 892, 910–1, 913–14; Feb. 21, 1722/3, Jul. 18, 1723, ibid., 932, 946. On the myth of a black beast rapist in English America, see S. Block, "Violence or Sex?" 111–27.

47. Jul. 16, 1713, "Quarter Sessions," 482. The record of Shafton's punishment has not survived, nor is it clear if her earlier presentments for bastardy in 1709 and 1710 were for the same child as in 1713, or for one or more earlier illegitimate children; Jan. 12, 1709/10, and Apr. 20 1710, ibid., 393, 401.

48. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 106–7; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 166.

49. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 148, 527n44.

50. Ibid., 100–115, 297–99, 315–16.

51. Crane, "Socioeconomics"; Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders*, 244–48, 253–57; Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 264–65.

52. In the late 1720s, plat exports were £10,000 sterling annually; Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 32, 290–93.

53. *Boston Records*, 8:172–77, cited in Benes, "Slavery in Boston," 16.

54. Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 75–76, 111–12.

55. Goetz, *Baptism*, chap. 4. For white attitudes in Barbados, see Gerbner, "Ultimate Sin"; and Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*. On Bermudian childhood and schooling, see Jarvis, *In the Eye*, 106, 281–86.

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